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Chile

Chile (16 days) March 18-April 2. Our first tour was very successful, to broadly understate it, and so we are doing it again. Included in the intensively political itinerary are visits to nationalized factories, El Teniente copper mine, Che Guevara squatters village, hospitals and schools, with an optional side trip to the lake district in the south. Prices include airfare, hotels, tours, most meals. From New York $750, from Los Angeles $825, from Miami $700. See page 58 of this issue of Ramparts for report of first Chile trip. Reservations close Feb. 21.

London Paris Rome

London/Paris/Rome (29 days) May 27-June 25. This is New York Media Workshop's women's tour aimed at strengthening internationalist feminist movement ties. Included in the itinerary are meetings with British, French and Italian movement women, a meeting in Paris with the North Vietnamese Peace Delegation, and tours to hospitals, child care centers and publishers, plus a variety of sightseeing. Price includes airfare from New York, trains, hotels, tours, breakfasts. $699.

Yugoslavia London

Yugoslavia (16 days) May 18-June 3. Heavy emphasis on folkdancing and sightseeing, including the Ljubljana Wedding Festival and trips to Zagreb, Belgrade, Sarajevo, Dubrovnic and other cities. Price $600 from New York including everything. Add $100 for an optional seven days in London, everything included, with political meetings and sightseeing.

As you might expect, we have not randomly picked these trips out of American Express brochures. Each Ramparts tour is designed to expose readers to an interesting political situation, as well as provide a vacation opportunity among fellow Ramparts people. Ramparts' tours are limited to 30 people to ensure that each traveller can pursue his own special interests, apart from a herd. Write for details to Ramparts, 2054 University Avenue, Berkeley, California 94704.

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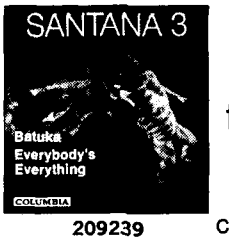

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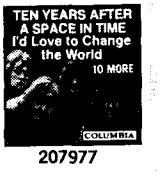

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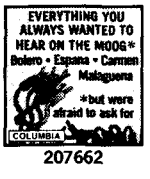

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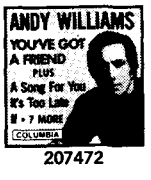

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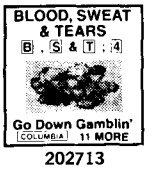

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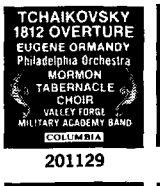

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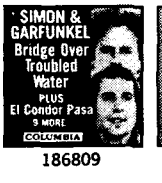

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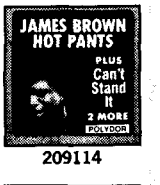

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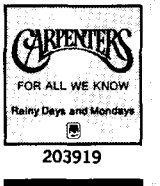

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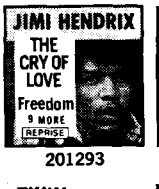

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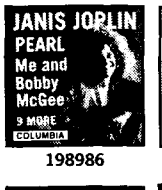

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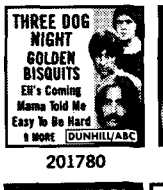

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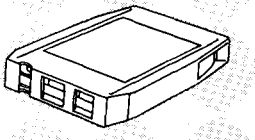

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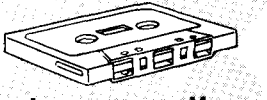

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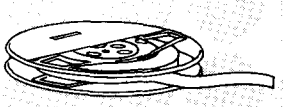

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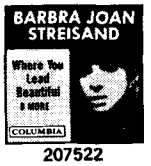

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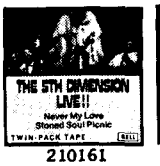

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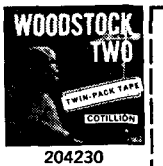

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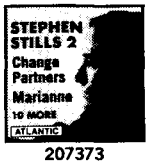

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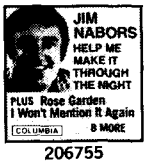

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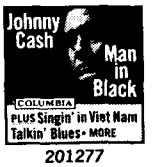

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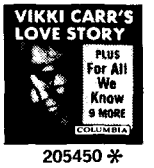

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City.....

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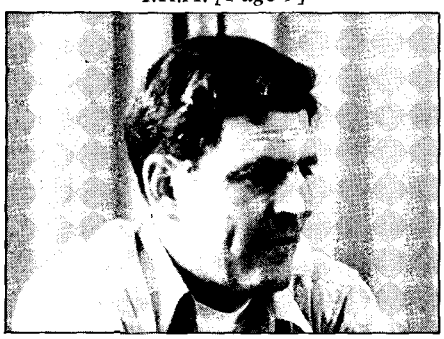

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Asian Tragedy

SUDDENLY THE WORLD SITUATION has become harder to understand than anyone under 30 can remember. It didn't happen exactly overnight, but confusion definitely began to set in sometime last July, when President Nixon's advance man surfaced in Peking to announce the impending goodwill appearance of the world's number-one imperialist, in that capital of revolutionary purity. This new development turned into a guerrilla's nightmare six months later, when Nixon and Chairman Mao turned up on the same side of the Indo-Pakistani conflict, opposing the national liberation struggle of Bangla Desh, and denouncing her Indian and Soviet protectors. Could it be, as some suggested, that the apparition once conjured by Chinese polemicists, of a Russian-American alliance against the revolutionary peoples of the world, had metamorphosed into a Sino-American alliance against revisionist Moscow.

A glance southward along the Indian subcontinent would dispel the need for any such conspiratorial hypothesis, and suggest that the operative principle, rather, is a clear, if limited, convergence of national interests. For in Ceylon Nixon and Mao have joined hands in supporting the moderate liberal government of Ms. Bandaranaike in its bloody repression of a mass-based left-wing uprising in Ceylon (and so have Brezhnev-Kosygin, Britain's Heath, and even Yugoslavia's Tito, for good measure). Across the Indian Ocean in Indo-China, however, China and Russia are still supplying weapons and giving diplomatic support to the Vietnamese in their war with the U.S. If Peking failed to issue more than a verbal protest against Nixon's Christmas bombing of the North, so did Moscow. And both kept a tight grip on their invitations to Nixon, because both were playing a game of global power politics whose stakes were so high that the survival struggle of the Vietnamese figured as small change.

* * *

THE FIRST STEP IN acclimating oneself to the present phase of the global contest is to absorb the fact that the old cold war has broken down, along with the binding alliances that characterized it. This does not mean that economic and social factors have ceased to be significant in world politics. It merely signifies that in the present phase of the international conflict, the actions of the major powers, including the communist states, are dictated by considerations of short-term (and short-sighted) self-interest, to a more blatant degree and

Illustration by Louise Kollenbaum

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in a less dissembled fashion than before.

Considered from a narrowly national and appropriately opportunistic point of view, the actions of each of the powers in the Indo-Pakistani conflict, for example, make a certain amount of sense. Even China's support for the military dictatorship in Pakistan, no doubt the hardest posture to understand, becomes a lot more logical when one recalls the appropriate historical context.

Thus China moved toward its political entente with Pakistan ten years ago, at a time when Sino-Soviet tension was reaching its public breaking point, and China's international isolation was acute. The two nuclear super-powers had been missile to missile over Cuba in the Caribbean, stopping only to join in condemning Peking as a reckless member of the world community, for its role in the Sino-Indian border conflict of that same autumn. (The authoritative Western account of the war, it should be noted, has since vindicated Peking, attributing the conflict to India's aggressiveness and refusal to negotiate.)

In short, a weak, isolated and encircled power, China had turned to Pakistan in accord with the none too worthy, but often invoked, principle that "the enemy of my enemy is my friend." The same principle brought the Indians to the Russians and "tilted" the White House the other way. Pakistan worked the rule in two directions. The military rulers of Pakistan, a loyal SEATO ally until Washington began arming "neutral" India in its 1962 conflict with China, in effect reasoned first "the (U.S.) friend of my enemy (India) is my enemy," and then, "the (Chinese) enemy of India and Washington, *and* Russia, has to be my friend."

* * *

If this seems an overly cynical way to view the current scramble on the international scene, consider the principles which the great powers invoked during the fighting on the Asian subcontinent. Although Washington long ago lost the ability to impress anyone as a peacemaker, that was precisely the mantle assumed by the U.S. delegate at the Security Council debates, deploring Indian aggression and Soviet irresponsibility. As if to emphasize the charade aspect of the appeal to principles, Washington and Moscow reversed the positions they had maintained during the previous Council sessions over the crisis in the Middle East. Then, the Soviets had demanded a UN resolution calling for a ceasefire *and* withdrawal, while the United States accepted a ceasefire pure and simple. In the Indo-Pakistani conflict, it was Moscow that held out for a ceasefire *tout court*, while Washington invoked the UN charter, and the precarious survival of the human race, as arguments for a ceasefire coupled with a withdrawal.

As for the principle of self-determination, which loomed so large in the support of Bangla Desh, one would be hard put to credit the Soviets with much concern for that hallowed concept, after their invasion of Czechoslovakia, and the enshrinement of the Brezhnev Doctrine (a clear plagiarism from Monroe, Dulles and Lyndon Johnson) as the governing principle of relations among the Soviet bloc states. The Indians, for their part, were obviously less enthusiastic about self-determination in a place like Kashmir, where the popular will ran against their interests, than in Bangla Desh.

Even the Arab states, whose war with Israel was conducted in the name of the national liberation struggle of the Palestinians, demonstrated how fickle, not to say disingenuous, nation states can be when invoking and honoring such commitments. While the Palestinians themselves came out in support of Bangla Desh, the Arab states, led by Algeria, Libya, Iraq and Jordan, proclaimed their Islamic solidarity with the military regime in West Pakistan (as against Hindu Indians), and thereby their indifference to the principle in whose name they were prepared to send their people to battle and die in the Middle East.

* * *

As a result of the war, the East Bengalis will have the Pakistanis off their backs, but what about the Indians who are moving in as security forces and administrators? How is East Bengal going to be better off, as an Indian protectorate, than the West Bengal state within India whose misery and suffering have long been world symbols, and whose poverty is in no small part caused by the artificial division between the Hindu West and the Moslem East? Even as India's tanks were rolling towards Dacca, the press reported the clubbings and killings of scores of rebellious political prisoners in Calcutta, the capital of West Bengal, where thousands are now incarcerated. For the Indian ruling class the war with Pakistan was in fact a conservative solution to the failure of India's development programs. It was a preventive war not only in the sense of removing ten million East Bengali refugees who could not be accommodated, but also in insuring against the emergence of a real guerrilla movement against Pakistani rule. For such a guerrilla army might link up with the Naxalite guerrillas in Calcutta and other parts of West Bengal to liberate a united Bengali state which would declare self-determination from Pakistan *and* India as well.

Purge in China

In the months since Henry Kissinger's first visit to Peking, 8 of the 21 members of the Chinese Politburo, including 3 of its 5 "permanent committee" members, have disappeared from public life, as well as virtually the entire high military command. According to British and Soviet intelligence sources, Lin Piao, theoretician of peoples war, heir apparent to Chairman Mao and conceiver of the Little Red Book, is dead. These sources also report that the Chinese are telling party cadre that Lin was involved in an abortive assassination plot against Mao. Also reported dead and members of the alleged plot are Madame Lin, herself a Politburo member, Huang Yung-sheng, chief of the armed services, Li Tso-p'eng, political commissar of the navy, Chiu Hui-tso, the chief of the logistics command, and Wu Fa-hsien, the commander of the air force.

Given the selective silence of official Chinese sources (when asked directly the whereabouts of Lin, one high Chinese official told *Le Monde* correspondent Claude Julien— "We do not know.") and the unreliability of Western or Soviet intelligence reports about

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Chairman Mao and Lin Piao

China, it is useless to speculate on the bizarre details of the assassination plot in which Lin is alleged to have taken part. What seems indisputable is the fact that a major purge has taken place among the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, as a result of the recent rightward shift in Chinese policy.

Without identifying Lin Piao by name, but in contexts where the association is clear, official Chinese sources have variously attacked "leftwing deviationists" and "people who are trying to undermine the unity of the party and the army, and the army and the government, and are opposing themselves to the party line," and also persons "who are having illegal relations with foreign countries," a clear implication of treason—presumably in connection with the Soviet Union. Among the issues acknowledged to be dividing the party are China's recent opposition to the self-determination of Bangla Desh and support for the bloody anti-communist repression in the Sudan, Peking's promotion of Sihanouk against the wishes of the Khmer Rouge guerrillas in Cambodia and the invitation to Nixon to visit the Chinese capital.

The leadership struggle over these issues is in a sense a continuation of the struggle which took place in the vortex of the Cultural Revolution, whose most significant victim was Liu Shao-chi. Until his fall, Liu had been the President of China, the acting chief of the party hierarchy, and one of the idolized leaders of the revolution.

A characteristic and significant aspect of Liu's fall, which is apparently repeating itself in the case of Lin, was that he was never permitted to articulate his political defense. To this day, we do not know what Liu Shao-chi advocated as an alternative political program for China, and neither do the Chinese people. Nor can they try to guess what it was by inverting the ideals of the Cultural Revolution, which Liu is said to have opposed. For the early leaders of the Cultural Revolution who, one must presume, differed sharply from Liu, also subsequently became its targets, without a corresponding change in the official Cultural Revolution line.

When the ruling party in a single-party state permits itself no organized factions, and no organized dissent from its official line, the inevitable differences that arise, both tactical and strategic, become congealed in the personalities of the inner leadership. As a result, the political struggle tends to become a struggle between leaders for the power to control the official line.

While there can be no legitimate appeal to the rank and file, it often becomes necessary to eliminate the spokesman for a dissenting line with powerful potential rank and file support. This can be accomplished by character assassination, as in the Cultural Revolution, which completely distorted Liu's historical role (just as Stalin distorted Trotsky's) or by assassination pure and simple.

It is easy to see why the months preceding President Nixon's visit to Peking may have produced the greatest internal leadership crisis in China's post-revolutionary history. The pincer movement created by 800,000 Russian troops massed on China's northern border, by the proximity of the American bombing machine to the south, and by the revival of her old conqueror Japan to the east, have produced enormous strains on the Chinese revolution, already beset by tremendous problems of internal backwardness and development. It is not often recognized that China still has a gross national product smaller than that of California and Illinois and that, although a nuclear power, she is still militarily weak in great-power terms (as her inaction during the Indo-Pakistani war made clear).

To cope with her predicament China's leadership has chosen to accept Nixon's initiative, hoping to play off the United States against Russia and Japan, and gain time in which to gather strength. This is one possible way out of China's box, but it is a strategy that goes directly against the grain of a decade and a half of Chinese practice and propaganda, and in particular, of the militant popular line of the recent Cultural Revolution. In such circumstances, it was inevitable that a section of the leadership, sensing a strong potential ally in the rank and file, should attempt to resist the new policy. To eliminate such resistance would then become the priority of the dominant party forces behind the new policy, which seem in this case to be led by Premier Chou En-lai. The po-

(Continued on page 64)

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[Foreign Reports]

IRA: Beyond the Barricades

READING THE AMERICAN newspapers to find out what's happening in Northern Ireland is like trying to follow the World Series on the BBC. You get the score, "Dodgers 2; Yankees 1," trailed by a misconception meant to explain the contest: "Baseball, of course, is the American version of rugby. . . ."

The desperate struggles in Northern Ireland get the same trivializing box-score treatment, "Irish Snipers 2; British Troopers 1," followed by the observation that the bloodshed is part of a centuries-old feud, set off in odd decades by senseless communal passions.

It gets no clearer, though, if you try to remember how Bernadette Devlin, Northern Ireland's Saint Joan of the Barricades and the British Parliament's youngest member, analyzed it on her last American speaking tour. In those days we learned that the battles in Derry and Belfast were *not* for national independence. Like the other young university-educated socialist leaders of the People's Democracy [P.D.] movement, Devlin wanted no unification with the conservative Republic of Ireland to the south. What P.D. leaders wanted was "a socialist republic, something on the lines of Cuba." But instead of launching a guerrilla struggle like the Cubans, their strategy was developed according to the model of the U.S. civil rights movement—albeit with a bit of Marxist upsweep. Instead of "black and white, unite and fight," it was to be Catholic and Protestant *workers,* green and orange, unite to fight the system of legalized discrimination and disenfranchisement administered by the Stormont government. People's Democracy carried out agitational work over housing and jobs to show the class interests of both Catholics and Protestants. It condemned religious sectarianism among the "popeheads" as well as among Rev. Ian Paisley's unionjack-waving Protestants. And in the same way early SNCC workers in Mississippi sought protection against the local oligarchs from J. Edgar Hoover's FBI, Ulster's civil rights movement at first welcomed the intervention of British troops to protect the Catholic minority from the local law-enforcers.

That was August 1969. Since then, the political situation has changed completely. Over fifty British troops

Historical photograph by FPG

by Russell Stetler

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have been shot or blown up by the I.R.A. "Provisional" faction. Even the so-called moderate wing of the I.R.A. has taken as its strategy the blowing up of Protestant legislators' houses in retaliation for the destruction of Catholic workers' houses. Protestant workers, led by Belfast dockers, numbering about 6000, marched against the Catholic I.R.A., demanding their imprisonment. People's Democracy has been eclipsed by the more militant I.R.A. And in the process, the unification of Northern and Southern Ireland, the almost hopeless goal of decades of romantic Irish revolutionaries, unforgettably portrayed in John Ford's *The Informer,* unification—throttled by Black and Tan terror of the '20s and betrayed by Eamon De Valera, Ireland's first President—now seems inevitable. Even the Rev. Paisley says he "could envision unity under some circumstances," while Tory Home Secretary Reginald Maudling says, if Ulster and Eire desire union, "the British people would welcome the step."

But the war goes on still, and as the barricades of traditional militant demonstration have tended to give way, only to be replaced by the free-floating forms of guerrilla war, the solid Marxist categories of who "the People" are began to dissolve too.

THE HARDEST THING TO GRASP from outside is how "the People" can be defined or restricted religiously. How can Irish Catholics be more "progressive" than Irish Protestants? Anyone who visits Northern Ireland will immediately perceive that the differences between them go much deeper than their conflicting beliefs about transubstantiation. Irish Catholics and Protestants have different names. They dress differently. Until the 18th century, most Catholics spoke Gaelic; Protestants, English. Centuries-long legal prohibition of intermarriage between the two groups have produced a rigid caste system whose members have some recognizably different physical traits.

Responsible for the separate development of Catholic and Protestant Irish is not ideology or anything having to do with the confessional. It is a simple fact of conquest. The Irish, a Catholic people since the days of St.

Above, IRA, 1971

Below, IRA internees, 1920

Above, photograph by Steve Shames/Photon West; below, Reuter/FPG

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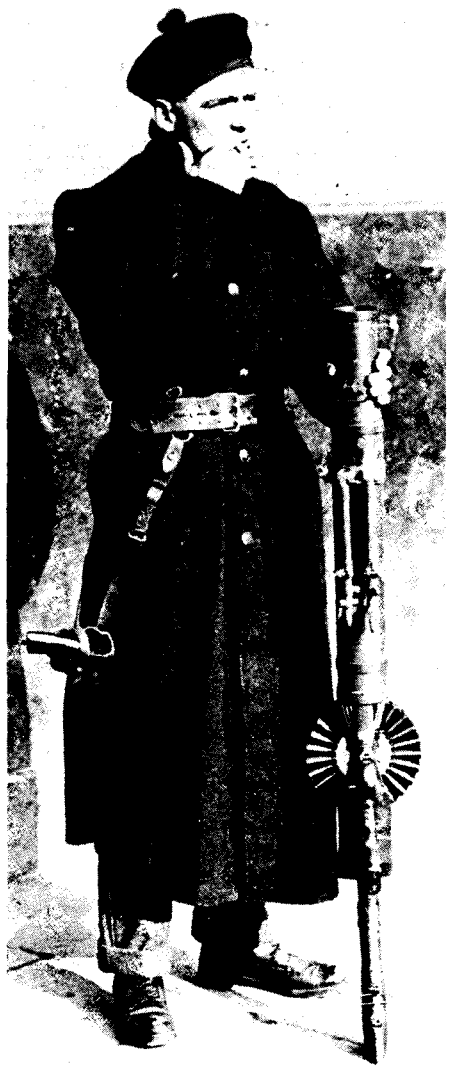
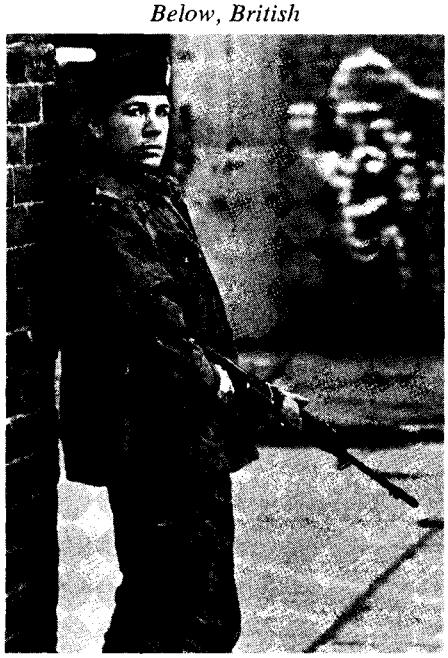


Above, Black & Tan guard
Below, British



Patrick, were conquered in 1649 by Oliver Cromwell and his Model Army of Protestant "roundheads."

For openers, Cromwell himself directed a massacre of 4000 inhabitants of the walled city of Drogheda, featuring a post-Elizabethan pentathlon of murder, rape, sacrilege, arson and pillage. Then, the future Lord Protector of England (1653–58), moved on to Wexford, Kilkenny and Clonmel. But the most long-lasting effect of the Cromwellian conquest was not savage bloodletting, but the depopulation of the island through the forcible eviction of the Irish peasantry from the most fertile areas. Cromwell created a new Protestant landlord class, partly from his own officers and partly from British speculators who bought the land from the officers seeking to liquidate their booty. (By 1660, the British had confiscated "legally" 12 of 15 million acres of land.) These men formed a new, alien, Protestant, landed aristocracy which ruled over the remaining Irish peasants, but only with the support of British guns and British Penal Law. Even Edmund Burke, a Protestant and no revolutionary, called the British semi-colonial rule "a system of wise and elaborate contrivance, as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment and degradation of a people and the debasement in them of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man." Protestants, for example, exercised the right to knock down, cane or horsewhip any Catholic whose conduct appeared to them disreputable. No Catholic might acquire land from a Protestant; they were prohibited from marrying Protestants. They could not hold army commissions, carry a sword or own a horse worth more than five pounds. By giving such a sum to a Catholic, a Protestant could compel him to turn over his horse immediately.

To consolidate further their hold over the Irish, the British established a plantation system in Ulster—nearly identical to the system set up in Virginia at the same time. Scottish Presbyterians formed the bulk of the settlers; Irish Catholics were the Indians. Under those conditions, the mild philosopher and Bishop of Cloyne, George Berkeley, found the Irish Catholics "more destitute than savages, more abject than negroes. The negroes, in our plantations," he observed, "have a saying: 'If a negro was not a negro, Irishmen would be negroes.'" And as a negro slaveholder, Berkeley could be considered an expert on comparative degradation.

Is it any wonder then that the Catholic church, whose bishops, priests and friars were periodically banished from the land and martyred, became a refuge for the wrack-rented peasantry, forced even to tithe the Protestant Church? And that this highly conservative institution could command the forbearance, if not the allegiance, of revolutionary socialists of the 20th century, like James Connolly—since an attack on the Church would appear in many minds to be doing the work of the Protestant landlords? Nor is it surprising that this most oppressed people on the European continent organized the 20th century's first national liberation movement, sparked by the Easter Rising of 1916, a movement hailed by both Lenin and Gandhi, a movement from which all Irish revolutionaries, including both factions of the present I.R.A., claim descent.

The Easter Rising itself, like the storming of the Moncada Barracks by Fidel and Ché, was a total military failure, put down after only six days. Within three weeks, the seven signers of the Proclamation establishing the Irish Republic, including James Connolly and the poet Padraic Pearse, were all dead. Shot by British firing squads. Unlike the Moncada attack, the Easter Rising was at first condemned by the subject people it was designed to liberate. A few weeks later, however, the British executions roused the Catholic people as nothing in their history. As Yeats predicted soon afterwards:

> *I write it out in a verse*
> *McDonagh and MacBride*
> *And Connolly and Pearse,*
> *Now and in time to be*
> *Wherever green is worn,*
> *Are changed, changed utterly:*
> *A terrible beauty is born.*

Republican clubs began to form everywhere. Their political arm, "Sinn Fein," scored sweeping victories in the 1918 parliamentary elections. Finally, with the return of the troops from the

Above photograph by FPG; below, Steve Shames/Photon West

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battlefields of World War I, in 1919, armed struggle broke out. And the long campaign of terror and counter-terror remained unchecked throughout the 1920s, even though the British granted to the southern twenty-six counties a kind of limited independence under a government of moderate nationalists. Six counties, containing a million Tory-voting Protestants and the only industry on the island, were preserved within the United Kingdom.

The last man to surrender during the Easter Rising, Eamon De Valera, led the delegation that made the territorial concessions so provocative to I.R.A. hardliners that civil war in opposition to the Anglo-Irish treaty sputtered on for years. Included in the 1921 "treaty," which resembles the Geneva accord on Vietnam in this respect, was a British promise to redraw the boundaries which separated North and South according to popular will. But the British-controlled Boundary Commission, which met in 1925, refused to make substantial changes. And the two Catholic counties of Northern Ireland, Tyrone and Fermanagh, as well as the predominantly Catholic city of Derry, remained under Ulster's sovereignty. Unsuccessful in winning total liberation from Great Britain, and forced to take a humiliating oath to the British crown in return for an "Irish Free State," De Valera proved better at repressing his former comrades. By World War II, the I.R.A. had been effectively destroyed with nearly all its members jailed, dead, or leading desultory underground existences.

It was not until after Suez in 1956 that the I.R.A. was able to mount another major guerrilla campaign in the North. But it was successfully met by the para-military police force of Northern Ireland, the Royal Ulster Constabulary, without assistance from English troops. In retrospect, the I.R.A. sees this as the central political factor in its post-war defeat: without the physical presence of English troops, it was impossible to demonstrate to the local population that its campaign was directed at British imperialism. Former I.R.A. activists played an important part in the civil rights movement of the late '60s, but their role was only political. When guns were needed in the crucial days of August 1969 to defend the Bogside area of Derry and Catholic ghettos of Belfast, the I.R.A. was a failure. Many a trenchcoat literally bulged with a simulated automatic, but the number of guns to be found was miniscule and the rounds of ammunition were negligible.

The republican movement, "Sinn Fein" (of which the I.R.A. is the military arm) had been deeply engaged in a process of self-criticism since the abandonment of its campaign in 1962. An I.R.A. Council met virtually every other weekend for some eighteen months during 1963–65. It was widely accepted that new tactics were necessary, and a number of specific proposals were agreed upon. The central thrust of the movement's new approach was to try to integrate its militants into day-to-day mass struggles. In the South, republicans soon played an active role in fish-ins, where groups of rural poor would occupy the private preserves of the Anglo-Irish gentry and demand public fishing rights. In the North, Sinn Feiners joined tenants' committees, demanding rent reductions and minority access to public housing. This led naturally to an active involvement in the civil rights movement of the late '60s. The old I.R.A. had been purist in the extreme. Members on trial went so far as to refuse even to speak in the courtroom, lest this imply recognition of the imperialist institution. The new I.R.A. saw this total abstentionism as futile. They favored turning political trials into active propaganda forums; some even suggested that campaigning for parliament might make tactical sense in changing circumstances. Finally, younger members, influenced by the world-wide growth of the new left, pushed Sinn Fein in a leftward direction and its official program became socialist for the first time.

At the same time these internal changes were going on in the I.R.A., the civil rights movement of 1967–69 challenged the fossilized political system of Northern Ireland. It provoked brutal attacks from the police, their auxiliaries (the B-Specials), and Protestant vigilantes. The most intense confrontations came in July and August 1969, in connection with massive Protestant processions celebrating sectarian victories over the Catholics in 1689 and 1690. After three days of rioting in Derry (during which the disturbances soon spread to several other cities, with the most violent confrontations of all occurring in Belfast), the British reinvaded their oldest colony. In a matter of days they had deployed several thousand troops. And just as the resistance to the aims of the negro civil rights movement and Martin Luther King in the U.S. produced a counter-reaction in the form of Black Power and Huey Newton, the Irish civil rights movement served as the catalyst for the armed struggle tactics of the I.R.A.

Two crucial conferences followed the intervention of British troops in August 1969. The I.R.A. met secretly, while Sinn Fein held an open conference. Each meeting had the same political debates on its agenda, but they were dominated by opposite factions. One group, now known as the Officials, carried the self-criticism of the 1963–65 period to its logical conclusion. They favored a continuing alliance with the "new left" forces of the civil rights coalition (basically the Irish Communist Party and some even smaller socialist groupings), a firm commitment to P.D. electoral politics, and a more or less Marxist, non-sectarian program. Ironically, the Officials' constitutional approach gained a two-thirds majority at the underground meeting of the republicans' military arm, the I.R.A. At the aboveground Sinn Fein conference, things went quite differently. The dominant group showed no affection for Mao, but insisted that political power grows out of the gunbarrel. They argued that the movement's military unpreparedness in August 1969 was an unpardonable shortcoming. Given the occupation of Northern Ireland by British troops, they claimed that all politics would be tested in the crucible of armed struggle. They split from the official Sinn Fein and set up a Provisional Army Council, in January 1970. They are known to everyone as the Provisionals.

The split has often been portrayed in misleading terms of "left" and "right." The Provisionals did attack the Officials for being taken over by Marxists who wanted to "turn Ireland into

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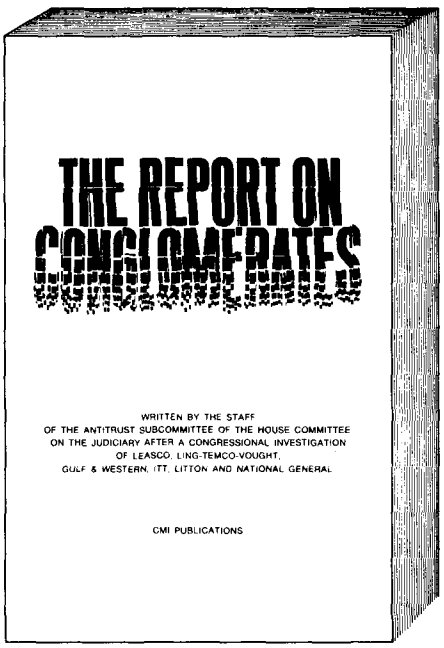
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a revolutionary socialist state along the lines of Cuba." The Officials in turn denounced the Provos as Green Tories, tools of the priests, etc. It was easy to draw confused and embarrassing statements out of Provisional spokesmen. One I interviewed in Dublin said he favored a moderate form of socialism —"along the lines of Denmark." But these apparently moderate declarations in fact indicate little more than the isolation of the Irish from other revolutionary movements. In any event, the Provisionals have succeeded in sustaining a formidable armed struggle. They obtained large quantities of arms (some through sympathizers highly placed in the South), and there is no question that they have the overwhelming majority of the grassroots support for republicanism.

OF COURSE IT IS NOT ONLY the Provisionals who have turned the situation into a classic national liberation war; it is equally the British. The British Army is finally home from India, Kenya, Malaya and Aden (but they've brought the war home with them). Some 13,500 counter-insurgency forces are deployed across Northern Ireland, led by the generals who built the first strategic hamlets in Southeast Asia and directed the genocidal campaign to pacify the Mau Mau in East Africa. They have added the latest U.S. technology to their arsenal, but their crude tactics are nothing new. "Internment," introduced last summer, is a euphemism, like "strategic hamlet." It is another name for the concentration camp. In September some two hundred Northern Ireland Catholics were rounded up and "detained' without charges or trial. Though many have been released (there is now a distinction between "detainees" and "internees"), the number now held has reached five hundred. Every opposition group has seen its ranks decimated by the massive repression—not only the two I.R.A. factions, but also the entire membership of the People's Democracy and anyone else who had hopes of unity between the Protestant and Catholic working classes. In Belfast, the troops sweep through whole streets and areas, arresting everyone from boys of thirteen to men of seventy. The twofold purpose is to wipe out the resistance and break civilian support for the I.R.A.

Initially the arrests inspired courageous mass protest, including civil disobedience (rent strikes and refusal to pay local taxes). In October, scarcely a month after internment, the scale of attacks on the army was so great that the I.R.A. seemed confident of forcing the troops to withdraw. But the longer-term effects of systematic repression are harder to bear; there will be no easy victory. By November the scale of arrests, destruction of peoples' houses and the breakdown of the economy was making bare survival difficult for any Catholics in the North.

After two and a half years of British troops, Northern Ireland is now in every sense an occupied country. The troops are *everywhere*, standing on street corners, rifles pointing out at shoppers going past, wearing full riot gear, hidden behind plastic shields; young and cocky, also terrified. The noise of tanks crawling past through the night is broken by bursts of machinegun fire, and sometimes bigger bangs. In the center of Belfast every other shop front is boarded up. No buses are running. (In Derry, the I.R.A. has fixed taxi prices to bus levels in compensation.) Every night there is a riot: kids throwing stones, sometimes petrol bombs; troops using gas and rubber bullets. The I.R.A. sometimes attacks the troops with machine guns or hand grenades. More often, it chooses its time and opens fire on isolated patrols or police stations later in the night. But the pressure is unbearable. All resistance fighters, more and more Catholics, live on the run.

A fresh report: "Take what has happened to women. Up until November, women played a large part in the defense of their areas. (They are not allowed in the Irish Republican Army, but are organized separately.) Women would blow whistles, bang dustbin lids, to warn people when the troops raided, would all turn out on the streets to taunt the troops, protect the kids who throw stones at the soldiers, keep them from being arrested. Women weren't interned. But then several women were shot dead (two for instance who were riding in the back of a car to warn people there was a raid), many more arrested. Now no one goes out on the street after dark because the troops shoot on sight anything that moves. One woman I saw in November had been active in the Ardoyne ghetto of Belfast. Her house was always open to everyone. Ten kids in four rooms, husband out of work, son on the run, well known for leading demonstrations against the army. Her house was wrecked by the troops: they put their rifles through the walls, ripped the mattresses, tore the kids' clothes to shreds. She was living in continual fear in a bombed out house without electricity or bedding in the bitter cold. And she's just one of thousands."

The British troops are using all the old tactics from Malaya and Aden. Pacification. The main aim is *disorientation:* men have been kept with bags over their heads for four days in deafening noise; forced to do physical exercise till they can no longer stand, then slapped awake and forced through more knee bends, then leaned against the wall on their fingertips. They have been taken up in helicopters, blindfolded and told "This is it," then pushed out a few yards above the ground. There are endless accounts of being forced to run barefoot and blindfolded over broken glass. Many have been literally driven mad.

The effect still appears to be the reverse of what was intended. Since internment, the Provisionals have had more support than ever; there have been more intensive attacks on the army at every level, as well as on civilian targets (shops, government buildings, etc.). Belfast is a city under siege. In Derry, the army is still kept out of the Bogside (the Catholic ghetto), except for occasional lightning raids. The people have organized street committees to defend the barricades day and night, halt looting, keep streets clean and lit, etc. The I.R.A. enforces its own justice: tarring and feathering of girls who go out with English soldiers and men who loot or steal from the poor, execution of informers. But problems of unemployment and poor housing are aggravated daily, and now social security benefits are often cut off or refused to women whose husbands are interned or on the run. The

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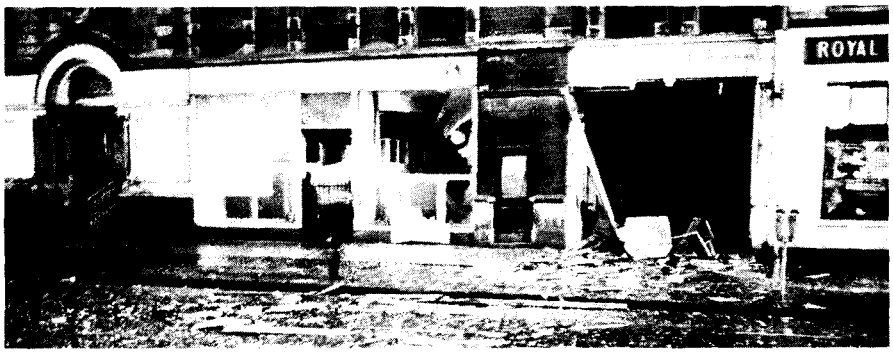
I.R.A. tries to look after its own. Every day there are bank robberies, mail-van holdups, etc., and the money is used to feed the people. Their organization grows. . . .

The resources of the British troops seem to be infinite: guns that see in the dark (SLRs), armored tanks and ferret cars, tear gases, etc. I.R.A. members have weaponry of World War II vintage, but they live among the people, choose their own ground to fight on, and disappear after an attack. In parts of Belfast the walls are painted white so that soldiers show up at night; the snipers are taking their toll. But the resistance is not only military—and that is the main reason it cannot be crushed. As of December, some 22,000 Catholic families were officially on rent and rate strike—refusing to pay taxes to local authorities, many of which now have no income. The provincial government has retaliated by sacking the few Catholics on the public payrolls and enacting a law so that debts to the government can be deducted from wages and social security (welfare) benefits.



At this juncture it is difficult to forecast the outcome of the present conflict. The unity of the Catholics in Northern Ireland is clear enough, but there are many other possible factors. One is support from the South. The government of Jack Lynch is in a shaky and ambiguous position. For the sake of popular support, it makes occasional expressions of verbal solidarity with the Catholics in the North. But Eire has remained an economic dependency of Britain; not surprisingly Lynch's troops have frequently fired on I.R.A. units near the Ulster border and they cooperate with Britain in policing the border. Former members of Lynch's cabinet, Charlie Haughey and Neal Blaney, staked their political future on a gun-running intrigue with the Provisionals. They were removed from the government, but charges brought against the two were not sustained lest they be made martyrs to the Northern cause. Within the Eire army there is much uncertainty and it seems significant that the troops stationed nearest the border are never used to suppress the I.R.A.; trusted units are introduced from Dublin. There is a great deal of residual sympathy for the I.R.A., but its concrete usefulness is yet unknown.

Support from England could also be decisive. In spite of a huge Irish population in all the big English cities, there has been no action against the war except for a couple of well-disciplined demonstrations and desultory meetings. The Irish immigrants are by no means integrated into the British trade union structure. A large proportion of them work in the building trades or in other forms of non-unionized casual labor. Nor are they culturally assimilated. They maintain a largely independent culture, through Irish pubs, dance halls, and, once again, the Catholic Church. Among the English themselves there is total apathy. The campaign against the war in Vietnam, which England could do *nothing* to affect, was far larger than the opposition to the war in Ireland. Deep-seated racism underlies this apathy (the caricature of the Irish laborer as a drunken "paddy" and the old slogan of the WIMPEY chain "We Import More Paddies Every Year"), but there is also the persuasive propaganda that this is just the old religious hatred, the communal tragedy, the centuries-old "Irish problem."

For Britain's rulers the war is not yet costly enough. Foreign investment is pulling out of Northern Ireland and tourism has dropped drastically, but as the military says, "It's a cheap war and the only one we've got." The reasons for staying are more vestigial pride than imperial economics, but the Tories are not fast to give way. Officially, two hundred people have been killed since the British troops were introduced in 1969 (half since intern-

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ment was introduced in August 1971), but the number of casualties in the army is still too small to become a major political issue. There have been a few defections, but it's a regular (volunteer) army in a country overburdened by unemployment and there are still too many men glad for the job.

America is a last factor of importance. Remember when John Lindsay presented the key to New York to Devlin (who mischievously turned it over to the Panthers)? The power of the Irish voting bloc which he acknowledged is by no means limited to New York. Ted Kennedy and Abraham Ribicoff introduced a bill in the U.S. Senate (paralleling one introduced by Hugh Carey of Brooklyn in the House) calling for British withdrawal and negotiations toward the unification of Ireland. The motion was qualified to say that withdrawal should be subject to the institution of law enforcement and criminal justice "under local control acceptable to all parties," but the thrust of the bill clearly opposes the present bi-partisan policy pursued in London. (Harold Wilson, now leader of the Labor opposition, called for discussions about unification but denounced I.R.A. violence and said there must first be a military solution.) Both the Provisionals and the Officials have influence among Irish-Americans and they will doubtless exert what pressure they can in the 1972 Presidential campaign. For a Lindsay or a Kennedy it's a cheap issue, particularly if it means uniting Ireland under a reactionary southern government with token participation of republican elements.

Unification is inevitable, and the English may have the foresight to see that abolishing the border in the near future may be a means of averting the social revolution which is catalyzed by a long popular struggle. The survival of the I.R.A. in a long war necessarily means democratic changes within the republican movement. The vulnerability of a movement dependent on a few leaders is evident. Changes in the role of women have also been inevitable, and these have the farthest-reaching implications. The changing status of women in the I.R.A. has not yet received official recognition in Provisional documents, but we should look closely for signs of it in the coming months. The leftward drift of the Provisionals is already manifested in its newly published "Social and Economic Program," which begins by calling for "not merely the complete overthrow of English rule in Ireland but also the setting up of a Democratic Socialist Republic." It continues, "The means of production, distribution and exchange must be controlled by the people and administered democratically. . . . Finance, insurance and all key industries must be brought under State control. . . . Large ranches will be taken over and leased to groups of families to run on co-operative lines. . . . Private enterprise will have no place in key industries, and state incentives will favor cooperative projects. . . . Here is real industrial democracy. . . . Power blocs such as NATO and the Warsaw Pact will be avoided. . . . We have more in common with the developing countries than we have with the rich club of former colonial powers. . . ."

To be sure, other groups of recent appearance on the Irish scene have put forward more "advanced" socialist platforms, but none has a tenth of the mass support which the Provisionals have organized behind their armed struggle. Their bombings and sniper-attacks are not isolated acts of frustrated men (as perhaps they were in the 1956-62 campaign), but controlled violence which channels the anger of a very unified community in a conscious political direction. This point is underscored by the fact that the Protestant right-wing now resorts to provocateur violence (bombs in pubs or department stores) in a cynical attempt to discredit the I.R.A. But the republicans have earned popular trust and their word is accepted when they claim credit for or dissociate from particular acts of violence.

Unification will unleash a whole new constellation of forces. Conor Cruise O'Brien imagines that at that point the Protestant community (which would then be outnumbered three to one) would rise up and carry out pogroms against the Northern Catholics. This prospect seems far-fetched. It would seem that the ghettos which manage to defend themselves against the British troops would be equally capable of resisting the military efforts of the Paisleyites. (Or does O'Brien perhaps think that the British were driven out of their colonies because they were too civilized to suppress the native populations?) There will certainly be extraordinary tension between Protestants and Catholics, with the likelihood of substantial Protestant emigration. But the most intriguing question is whether we shall see a repetition of the civil war situation which followed the first Irish settlement in 1921.

The 1921 treaty was in many ways the prototype of neo-colonial deals: stop the national liberation war by negotiating with moderate nationalists; grant them every formal concession they demand, but bind them through economic controls which render formal independence ineffective. The goals will be more or less the same when the British decide to negotiate their way out of the new war, and there is an abundance of politicians among the Northern Catholics who would gladly join the Dublin government in a new deal. The question is whether the social revolution now in motion will have gained sufficient momentum at the time of the "peace talks" to carry the developing socialist struggle to completion.

Whatever the outcome of this test, today's I.R.A. of Cahill, MacStiofain and O'Bradaigh, by taking up the anti-imperialist tradition of the Easter Rising, has proved its right to the succession of revolutionary martyrs. And the last speech of Roger Casement, sentenced to death by the British for his role in the Rising, sounds the theme being heard again today:

"If English authority be omnipotent, Irish hope exceeds the dimensions of that power, excels its authority and renews with each generation the claims of the last. The cause that begets this indomitable persistency, the faculty of preserving through centuries of misery the remembrance of lost liberty, this surely is the noblest cause that men ever strove for, ever lived for, ever died for. . . ."

Russell Stetler is the author of *The Battle of Bogside* (London 1970), a study of the politics of violence in Northern Ireland.

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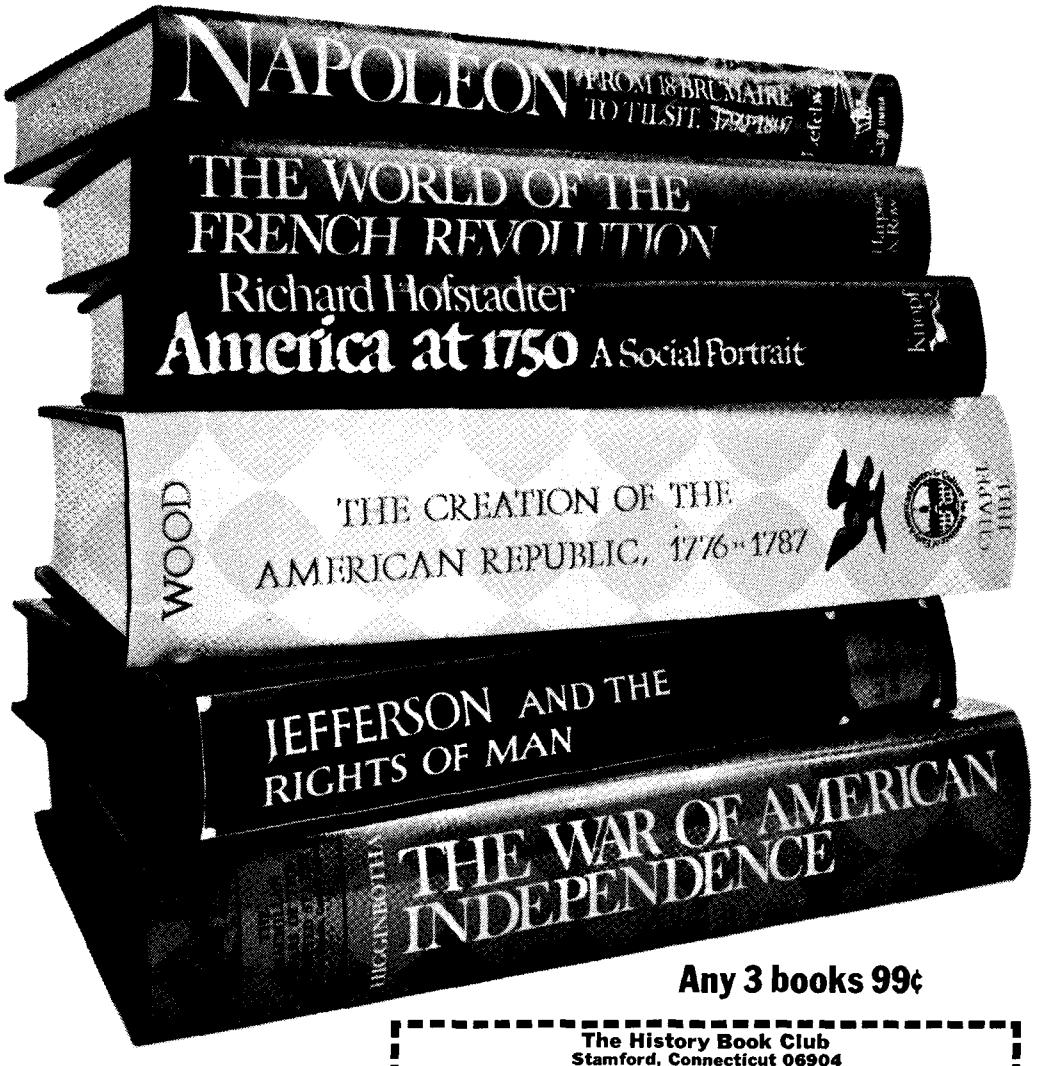
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[Hard Times]

Gas Battle of Algiers

El Paso Natural Gas Company's plan to buy large quantities of gas from Algeria for shipment to the east coast of the U.S. has important political consequences. For Algeria this deal, which involves more than $1 billion, represents a major step in breaking away the country's developing economy from the oppressive French colonial influence and involving it instead with the U.S. where Algeria doesn't even have diplomatic relations. This step was made possible by the initiatives of the Houston-based gas company, the largest gas utility in the

U.S. and a major international fuels conglomerate. The pact is widely viewed as a forerunner of other deals between developing Third World nations and American-owned international corporations.

With a monopoly on California gas supplies, El Paso is the largest U.S. gas company. It now proposes to enter the east coast business by purchasing from Algeria one billion cubic feet of gas per day over a 25-year period. The gas will be liquified, then shipped in specially constructed tankers to east coast utilities which are both short of gas and in need of a clean fuel because of increasingly strict air pollution regulations. In all, this deal will cost $1.5 billion.

Even before the final arrangements were completed, the El Paso-Algeria deal had considerable repercussions: Because the imported liquified natural gas (LNG) will cost much more than gas piped from fields in the southwestern part of the U.S., it contributed to the pressures resulting in higher gas prices. In introducing the gas tanker trade to the east coast, it brings a new industry; the safety problems involving these tankers full of gas are not known. As the deal neared completion, other nations entered the markets. They include the Soviets, who are anxious to export gas to the U.S. from Siberia.

Negotiations for the El Paso-Algerian deal were unusual. Since the U.S. and Algeria do not maintain regularized diplomatic relations, Algerian agents in the U.S. employed the law firm of Clark Clifford to represent them in the complicated negotiations at the State Department and before the Federal Power Commission which must give final approval. The U.S. Export-Import Bank agreed to underwrite part of the cost. A group of American banks, led by Manufacturers-Hanover, will finance other aspects of the deal.

The deal initially was opposed by major U.S. oil companies, including Standard Oil of New Jersey. These companies made it clear they would block serious negotiations until Algeria paid off some $40 million in claims pending since Algeria nationalized the oil business. Once the Algerians agreed to pay off the claims, the major companies dropped their resistance. Still the deal met objections by independent U.S. oil and gas men, who feared the foreign competition, and by the utilities, the major gas purchasers, because they did not want to pay such high prices. In Algeria there was opposition within the government on grounds it tied the nation's economy too closely to the U.S. But all these objections were eventually met.

The most serious objections came from the French who diligently sought to dominate the Algerian economy since independence. The French, for example, have blocked World Bank loans to Algeria which might have provided a measure of economic independence. When Algeria nationalized the oil industry, the French threatened to sue other countries which bought Algerian oil. When the El Paso deal was put together, the French worked to block it. They schemed among the Arabs, attempting to convince them that by selling gas to the U.S. Algeria was casting in with Israel's principal ally, and that the deal should be opposed on this ground. In the U.S. the French attempted to convince Zionist groups that the deal was collusion between the U.S. and the Arab enemy.

El Paso had been in negotiations with Algeria for an LNG project since 1964. Then the plan was to ship liquified gas to southern Europe, but the project was cut short by the Soviets.

The Soviet Union scheme to turn its large oil reserves into a major export item had never worked out, but the Russians had successfully developed large-scale gas reserves in Siberia and built a pipeline to the Moscow area. The pipes were then extended down into Europe. And the Soviets aggressively began to market gas among the French and West Germans. They won a major deal in Italy arranging to provide the Italians with large amounts of Siberian gas through an extended pipeline system. All along the Soviets were meant to be Algeria's allies, helping the developing countries break the bonds of French colonialism. But in Europe the Soviets regularly undercut all Algerian initiatives in building a gas trade. In Algeria the Soviets were regarded with growing bitterness. Their role in blocking European gas sales was among the subtle forces which contributed towards moving Algeria away from the Soviet Union, closer to the U.S. on the one hand, and towards the Chinese on the other.

The Algeria project has other important implications for the U.S. Historically, natural gas was discovered in association with oil, and the business still is very much controlled by the major oil companies which produce most of the gas. The pipeline companies, of which El Paso is the largest, transport the gas through pipe

by James Ridgeway

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systems to markets. El Paso grew preeminent among the pipeline companies because it monopolizes the California markets. The Supreme Court sought to break this western monopoly by ordering the company to divest part of the western system, but so far El Paso has refused to sell off the pipes. Friends in Congress, including Washington's Senator Warren Magnuson, are sponsoring legislation which would exempt the company from the Supreme Court's order.

The east coast gas markets are dominated by a handful of pipeline companies with lines running from the southwest to Philadelphia, New York and Boston. In the past few years these companies, along with gas producers, have been warning of a gas shortage; in some instances companies actually curtailed sale of gas on grounds it was in scarce supply. Both the pipelines and the oil companies clamored for an increase in price in order to spur exploration. The sudden introduction of gas transportated by ship from Algeria to east coast U.S. markets throws the entire business out of kilter. The Algerian deal without doubt is the first of several, and in time the pipelines may be rivaled as a mode of transportation by a fleet of natural gas tankers. Instead of the east coast being dependent on production from major oil companies in the southwestern U.S., it may become dependent on gas from Venezuela, Algeria, Libya, or the Soviet Union.

The Algerian deal probably will come under attack from an unexpected quarter. Environmental groups, which are partially responsible for the pressure on electric utilities to use more gas, are seriously considering challenging the project because of its potential hazard to the environment. They are worried about dangers of the LNG business, whether the land storage tanks are safe, and in particular, whether the new ships are reliable. Nobody really knows what might happen if an LNG tanker hit a rock or collided with another ship in the fog on entering harbor. Would the liquified gas dissipate or might it explode? In one inquiry the Bureau of Mines dropped small amounts of LNG into an aquarium and in a larger test dumped a steam shovel full of material into a pond. In both cases there were explosions. In a report on the tests, the Bureau said, "Unfortunately the study raised questions on one aspect of the problem for which no answers are yet available. Small-scale explosions occurred when LNG was poured onto water; no explanation can be offered with confidence for these explosions and no assurance can be offered that these explosions could not scale up to damaging proportions in a massive spill."

Environmental challenges to the Algerian project would be ironic. Ecologists have applied much of the pressure which is causing electric utilities to use more gas. They have pushed hard for strict air pollution regulations, limiting the amount of sulfur emissions, and thereby virtually excluding coal as a fuel. (The market for low sulfur coal is tight, and there is no practical way of getting sulfur out of coal.) At the same time, ecologists successfully blocked a variety of nuclear power projects. As a result, utilities are forced to search harder for gas and to convert to oil.

The project raises other questions of a more subtle nature. An environmental challenge to the Algeria/El Paso deal, for instance, might be perceived as pitting the American white, upper-middle-class environmental movement against the interests of a developing Third World nation. For the radical community in the U.S., Algeria's relationship with El Paso Natural Gas Company holds other poignant ironies. Here is a new nation of the Third World having secured its independence from France, breaking from oppressive economic dependence and now replacing that relationship for partnership with a U.S.-based mining corporation, which, as much as any other company, has worked to exploit the "energy crisis" for the profits of its stockholders. In that sense Algeria has escaped the French to become a junior partner in that international oil cartel which through history has systematically ruled the world's natural resources. ■

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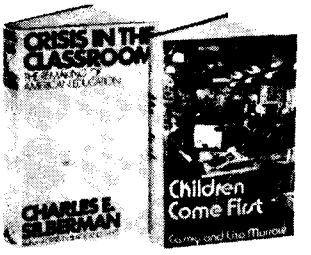

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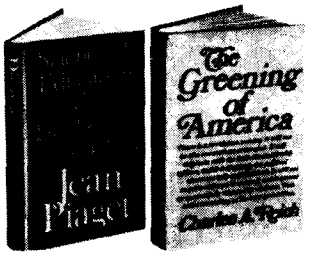

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Mayday

DEAFENING JETS: Children in East Boston apparently are losing their hearing from the noise of planes landing at nearby Logan airport. Last spring the Boston School Committee conducted routine hearing tests of school children in East Boston and other Boston communities. Twice as many East Boston school children failed the test as did those in South Boston or Dorchester, quieter neighborhoods located farther from the airport. Hearing failure in East Boston ranged from five to twelve percent; in the other two communities it ranged from one to eight percent.

One member of the school committee who conducted the audiometric tests said they were difficult to administer in East Boston because planes roared over some of the schools every one to two minutes. Even equipped with earphones, school children could not hear the test sounds over the noise of the planes. When jets pass over their schools, teachers stop talking. Physicians working in East Boston say that children there often appear to have difficulty pronouncing "s" or "sh" sounds—high frequency tones; noise pollution first damages hearing by impairing the ability to hear such high frequency sounds.

Some East Boston residents wear earmuffs to shut out the noise of the planes. One woman standing outside while a plane flew over felt a violent popping in her ear. When she went to Massachusetts General Hospital, doctors said she had a fractured ear bone. Ceilings and homes of East Boston are routinely cracked because of the noise. Children can't go to sleep, and people live in dread of a plane crashing into their homes.

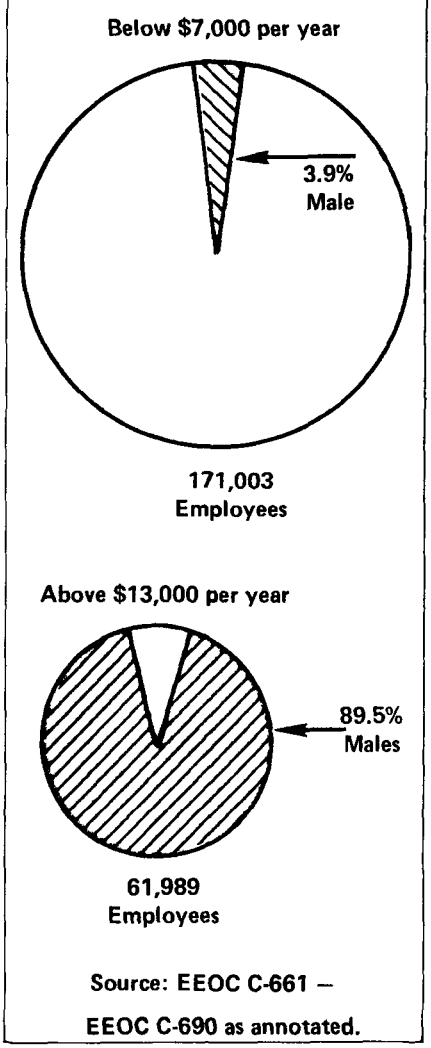
Massachusetts Attorney General Robert Quinn recently announced that on the basis of a questionnaire six other Boston communities are adversely affected by the noise of planes. So far the federal government, which controls air traffic through the FAA, has sloughed off reports of deafness due to noise. One report prepared for the Department of Transportation was revised at the department's request because it initially had appeared too critical. But the government must now take matters more seriously for the city of Boston has filed suit to block further runway construction at Logan airport because of the noise.

CYCLAMATE PAY-OFF: Among the election year handouts is a bill pending before subcommittee Number 2 of the House Judiciary Committee which would authorize the Court of Claims to recompense the manufacturers, packers and distributors of cyclamates for their losses—estimated at more than $100 million. Ostensibly this bill, introduced by the conservative Florida Congressman Sisk and unaccountably co-sponsored by such liberals as William Kastenmeier (Wisconsin) and Don Edwards (California), is to help the California Canners and Growers coop which was nearly wiped out by the ban on cyclamates in 1969. Actually, most of the money will go to the big bottling companies: Coca Cola, Seven-Up, Pepsico, etc. Pepsico is headed by Nixon's good friend and former law firm client, Don Kendall. Biggest pay-out of all will be to Abbott Laboratories, the major cyclamate manufacturer. Although the staff of the Justice Department opposed the cyclamate bill, they were overridden by Deputy Attorney General Kleindienst.

The cyclamate legislation would repay large companies which deliberately ignored research that showed cyclamates to be dangerous. In addition, it would establish a precedent that companies are to be indemnified against mistakes by having the government insure their adventures in the market place. That would cancel the existing law which places the burden of proof for safety on the company.

SEXISM AT BELL TEL: The accompanying chart shows the disparity in wages paid men and women at the telephone company. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, which prepared the chart as part of a voluminous report on the telephone system on file with the FCC, adds, "Males begin at higher wages than females and continue to maintain a greater wage throughout their tenure in the Bell System. The average maximum wage for males in entry level jobs in the 30 SMAs (Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas) was $8,613; the average maximum wage for beginning females was $6,114 or only 71 percent of the male wage. A female in first-level management averages $11,194. Should she compare herself to a male in first-level management, she would discover that her wage is only 79 percent of his. When measured in terms of total "occupational position," females' wages were only 75 percent of the average wage for all employees and only 60 percent of the average wage for male employees."

DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALES AND MALES IN WAGE LEVELS IN 30 SMSA's, DECEMBER 31, 1970



Source: EEOC C-661 – EEOC C-690 as annotated.

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ADVERTISEMENT

First Decree for the Protection of Life

WHEREAS —

After thousands of years of slow and laborious development, mankind during the past few decades has rapidly come into possession of technological means which promise either unlimited opportunity and abundance or sudden and universal catastrophe.

The People of Earth are, in fact, confronted daily with the threat of instant extermination by the accidental or deliberate unleashing of nuclear weapons. This threat multiplies as more nations gain nuclear capability and install multiple warheads which defy inspection and control by treaty.

Even limited use of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction imperils civilian populations, towns, cities and country-sides, and can turn entire countries into ravaged battlefields.

The $200,000,000,000 being spent by the nations each year for military purposes, mainly for weapons of mass destruction and their deployment, is a criminal waste of resources and manpower which could otherwise be devoted to supplying the People of Earth with adequate food, shelter, clothing, education, health services and expanding opportunities in life.

So long as nations give priority to expenditures for military might, there is scant chance of applying the brainpower, manpower and resources needed to solve other rapidly mounting problems which threaten humanity with the breakdown of society, misery and death in multiple ways before the end of the century. These problems include environmental pollution, the gap between rich and poor, hunger and population, urban decay, technological cancers, social disorientations and other troubles.

Apart from dangers of universal ruin, the means of modern warfare comprise the tools of force by which stronger nations interfere in the affairs of weaker nations and enforce imperialistic and colonial policies.

Meanwhile, the civil and human rights of people in all countries are nullified when nations are permitted to keep large and heavily armed military forces, since it is with military force that dictatorships and tyrannies are enforced, movements for peaceful change crushed, and people kept subservient — making a mockery of the Charter of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations.

Despite the extreme dangers to all life on Earth, which are growing every day and year, the national governments not only fail to protect their citizens from these dangers, but on the contrary many national governments are actively increasing the hazards by continuing to install nuclear weapons and to devise other weapons with ever greater capacity for death and ruin.

During the next one to thirty years, in order to survive and prosper, the residents of Earth must overcome manifold problems and perils of planetary scope unknown in history. Yet at the world level, no agency exists which has the authority or competance to cope with the problems, and anarchy prevails.

THEREFORE —

When life is seriously endangered and existing governments are either unable or unwilling to remove the dangers and improve the conditions of life, then it becomes necessary for responsible citizens to proceed with remedies which seem appropriate.

Men and women acting under such circumstances may be described as Trustees acting for the common good, ultimately justified by whether their actions are endorsed by their fellow citizens.

In view of the increasing jeapordy to the lives and property of everyone on Earth, and in the absence of effective action by national governments and international agencies to protect life, we who are listed below, from many countries, have organized ourselves into an Emergency Council of World Trustees to take immediate action on behalf of humanity. Our purposes are to outlaw war and war preparations, to convene a Peoples World Parliament for continuous work, to prepare a Constitution for Federal World Government for submission to the Parliament, to appoint global legislative commissions to prepare legislation on urgent world problems for submission to the Parliament, and to take other appropriate action leading to the establishment of a Provisional World Government under democratic popular control.

As a first action to rescue Planet Earth and its inhabitants from destruction, and to provide a tangible rallying ground for people everywhere who want peace and human rights while moving towards the creation of a Provisional World Government, we do hereby issue this First Decree for the Protection of Life:

1. Upon the effective ratification of this decree, it shall be outlaw and forbidden everywhere on Earth to design, test, produce, transport, sell, buy, install, deploy or use nuclear weapons, chemical-biological weapons, or any weapons of mass destruction, including airplanes equipped for bombing, I.C.B.M.s and other delivery systems, battleships, tanks and all manner of bombs and newly devised weapons.
2. This decree shall go into effect as soon as it is ratified by groups of students and professors at 200 universities and colleges in at least 20 countries, or by the signatures of at least 10 million individuals in at least 20 countries, or any equivalent thereof.
3. Any and all executive, administrative and chief policy making officials in governments, the military forces, industry, scientific work education or labor who may be responsible for violation of this decree after effective ratification, shall be guilty of war crimes and crimes against humanity.
4. Those who sign or ratify this decree thereby pledge themselves personally to abide by the decree. Opportunity to ratify shall be continued beyond the minimum stated herein for the decree to go into effect.
5. Individuals found guilty of violation of this decree may be assigned to rehabilitation and reconstruction work in areas devastated by war, or to other work of service to humanity.
6. Procedures for enforcement of this decree shall be determined either by the Emergency Council of World Trustees upon effective ratification, or by the Peoples World Parliament or Provisional World Government as soon as the latter institutions are established.

PEOPLE OF EARTH, UNITE TO OBTAIN NEW PRIORITIES FOR LIFE, BY SIGNING OR RATIFYING THIS FIRST DECREE FOR THE PROTECTION OF LIFE!

This First Decree for the Protection of Life was issued at the inaugural meeting of the Emergency Council of World Trustees at Santa Barbara, California, Dec. 28, 1971, to Jan. 2, 1972. At time of issuance, the Decree carried the signatures of several hundred persons from all continents of Earth, more than half being presidents of university student unions and other student leaders.

ALL PERSONS WHO AGREE WITH THIS ACTION ARE URGED TO RATIFY THE DECREE AND SEND A CONTRIBUTION TO CARRY THE ACTION FORWARD!

Ratified by ..... Native country .....

Print name ..... Contribution $.....

Address .....

Occupation or position .....

Please send me ..... copies of the Decree to circulate for ratification, together with a list of the first signers. (Note: You can help the cause by printing the Decree at once and circulating it in your community or on your campus. Use this copy for offset printing.)

Return signed Decrees with contributions to the World Constitution and Parliament Association, Inc., Trustees Office, 1480 Hoyt St., Lakewood, Colorado 80215, USA.

Early signers include: Nobel Laureates Albert Szent-Gyorgyi, USA; Frederick Sanger, UK; M. H. F. Wilkins, UK; 36 members of Parliament of India of 7 political parties; Presidents or secretaries of Student Assns: Awooner-Williams, Ghana; Jessy Ang, Philippines; Mikael Daher, Lebanon; Sam H. W. Davis, Gambia; Aziz Hussain, Singapore; Guillermo Mazzotti, Peru; Carlos Nunez U., Mexico; J. C. Obiri-Ibe, Nigeria; Ronnie Sookhoo, Trinidad; Haile Zamadie, Ethiopia; Jan Bishop, Marsha Martin and 23 others from USA; Statesmen R. K. Nehru, India; A. Casely-Hayford, Ghana; Kanichi Nishimura, Japan; and professors, lawyers, businessmen, writers, other student leaders, etc. from 52 countries.

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[Conversations]

The Panthers After the Trial

"It would have been much more favorable to the movement if the DA had tried the case for a fourth time," Huey Newton told me. It was just two weeks after Oakland, California's District Attorney Lowell Jensen, the man who tried to send him to the gas chamber in 1968, had asked an Alameda County judge to dismiss manslaughter charges against the Panther leader, after his third trial had resulted in a hung jury. "We were approaching a situation and a set of conditions for the kind of mobilization we had in 1968," Newton continued. "Everything was set. There were a number of organizations, including the most conservative ones, the churches, KDIA (a black-oriented radio station) that were set to start mobilizing people. But the DA was smarter than that." Newton sounded disappointed. "He understands that conditions change. People were getting ready to walk down to the courthouse again," he said with a smile.

Did he consider two successive hung juries followed by a dismissal of the charges a victory? "It's one of the small battles won. I won't deny that," Newton said almost casually. "It doesn't mean we've achieved a greater amount of freedom, but it testifies to the fact that there are still avenues left open inside the system where you can get results that look fair. You get the appearance of fairness within an unfair system. This is what we have to keep educating the people on. We had the black community excluded from the jury, but then we get a hung jury. Does that make it fair?"

Compared to the furor created by Newton's first trial in the summer of 1968, when he was tried for murder in the shooting of Oakland policeman John Frey, and the cry "Free Huey" reverberated from one end of the country to the other, the end of the case was almost anticlimactic. Newton had already served 33 months in jail (almost all of it in solitary confinement) for a crime he did not commit, and the political climate and the Black Panther Party had changed a great deal since 1968, when the Panthers marched outside the courthouse in military formation, wearing "uniforms" of black leather jackets and black berets.

The Panther image at the time was one of a paramilitary organization organizing itself for an armed struggle against the "racist pig power structure." The mass media ran frightening accounts of Panther intentions, aided by fierce Panther rhetoric, and white radicals canonized the Panthers as "the vanguard of the revolution," hoping one day to create an organization of whites similar to them. The Black Panther Party had a ten-point platform and program which it frequently referred to, but few people took it seriously, regarding it more as a cover for the Panthers' running battles with the police.

In 1969, shortly after Richard Nixon was inaugurated, federal, state and local police began shooting at and breaking into Panther offices all across the country, touching off gun battles in which several Panthers were killed, including Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in Chicago. The Panthers continued organizing rallies, and denouncing the power structure. They had started a Breakfast for Children program, but they found that, despite their revolutionary rhetoric, not too many black people were participating in their programs.

"When I got out of jail," Newton recalled, "we couldn't even call a rally where one-third of the people who showed up were blacks. Ninety-nine percent of the rallies were attended by white radicals."

The situation reached its climax on Thanksgiving Weekend of 1970, at the "Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention" which the Panthers called in Washington, D.C. White radicals came by the thousands in answer to the Panther call. Close to two hundred flew and drove across the country from Berkeley. Others poured in from Vermont communes, and collectives in New York, Boston, Baltimore, Chicago, North Carolina, Ohio, and Colorado. There were radical feminists, GI organizers, gay liberationists, student radicals, self-proclaimed revolutionaries, working-class organizers, women's liberationists, ex-Weathermen, and lots more. The only missing element was representatives from the black community. Considering the fact that Washington, D.C. has a population that is 70 percent black, their absence was quite noticeable.

"The black community was not interested in us, and was not interested in that Constitutional Convention," Newton says emphatically. "We had lost the blacks long before that, but we were still in the lead of the white radical movement. This was evidence of the whole wrong tactic that the party used in giving up its roots in the community in order to lead the white radicals who didn't have any roots in their own community as far as organizing goes."

In an essay written last year, Newton described the situation the Black Panther Party found itself in. "Our hook-up with white radicals did not give us access to the white community, because they do not guide the white community. The black community does not relate to them, so we were

by Art Goldberg

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left in a twilight zone, where we could not enter the community with any real political education programs; yet we were doing nothing to mobilize whites. We had no influence in raising the consciousness of the black community, and that is the point where we defected."

It was at this point, towards the end of 1970, that Newton began a campaign within the Panther Central Committee to return the party to its "original vision" of organizing and mobilizing people by serving their needs, raising their political consciousness, and defending them from oppressors, from armed police to capitalist exploiters.

Newton now maintains that the Panther Party stressed point seven of its ten-point program—the right to armed self-defense—"too much for too long." He says he never agreed with the party's approach on this point, after the now famous trip to Sacramento, in May 1967, when 25 Panthers, armed with guns, entered the California State Legislature. "We had received enough praise from the people by that action to begin to emphasize the ten-point program. The ten-point program didn't start after the party was formed," he emphasized, "it was the genesis of the party. Everything that came after that, Sacramento, escorting Betty Shabazz, patrolling the police, was a strategy."

Newton personally felt that, after the Panthers had recruited enough people by patrolling the police and had gained the attention of the black community, it should have started implementing practical programs that would have pointed toward "the real enemy," the persons who caused the police to terrorize the community in the first place. He viewed the patrols and the trip to Sacramento primarily as educational devices, rather than the first steps in building an army.

The Panther Central Committee, however, disagreed and Newton was voted down on this issue "time and time again" during the summer and early fall of 1967. On October 28, 1967 the incident in which John Frey was killed and Newton was shot through the stomach took place, and from then until August 5, 1970 Newton was in jail.

"Some people view it [the period where guns were stressed] as a very revolutionary period, but I view it as a very reactionary period, because we stopped mobilizing people," Newton explained as he sat on a table, sipped Coca Cola, and gestured with his free hand. "But I publicly supported this wrong position, because we have always been guided by democratic centralism."

Early in 1971 Newton was apparently able to convince the Central Committee to steer the party in the direction he wanted to see it go, towards building a base, and organizing the black community through the implementation of such "survival programs" as free health clinics, free food and clothing distribution, a free busing service to prisons, sickle cell anemia testing, a free ambulance service, liberation schools and a pest control program, while continuing the free breakfast program.

The decision to move in this direction is at the core of the political disagreement between the Panthers and their former Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver. Cleaver, those around him in Algiers, and those who support him in the U.S. feel that the time for "armed struggle" is here, and that the masses must be led by exhortation and example. They view the Panther move into the community organizing work as "reformist and revisionist" and an indication that the party has given up its belief in armed struggle.

NEWTON, CHAIRMAN BOBBY Seale, and the party members now manning the 38 Panther chapters and branches across the country, feel differently. Seale views it as very significant that the black community in Chicago only pulled out its guns to defend the Panther office there after the party had set up a free breakfast program that was feeding 3000 school children each morning. The first two times the Chicago police attacked the office, there was verbal but no physical response from the community. By the time the third attack came, the breakfast program was functioning, and the community helped the Panthers drive the police off. "The community could see its self-interest threatened that third time," Seale explained.

Nevertheless, the Panthers now obviously believe that the mass of black and Third World people in this country, to say nothing of the masses of white Americans, are not yet ready to "pick up the gun" in a revolutionary armed struggle, as they have been exhorted to do for the past four or five years. "The super-revolutionaries have been talking about building an army," Newton observed, "but before you can build an army, you've got to get the people together. You have to have some sort of spark to set the prairie fire. The programs are the spark. The people are the fire."

> "We've gotten to the point where we don't want to talk about jive no more, or try to unify people around poems and poetry."
>
> —Bobby Seale

Newton said that once the party has the ability to mobilize people, it will begin to "move" on specific issues. "It might be Attica that we decide to move on, rather than sickle cell anemia," because one of the many purposes of the programs is to "get people to appreciate you and to appreciate your analysis of the social situation." He confidently predicted that the Panthers within the next six months would be able to mobilize between five and ten thousand people in Oakland on an hour's notice, "and they won't be students either, they'll be community people."

The Panthers seemed undisturbed by criticisms coming from Algiers and from white radicals in this country that the survival programs are reformist. "In and of themselves you could say they are reformist," Newton said, "but they are organizing tools, part of a strategy to bring people together and mobilize them. A lot of people said patrolling the police was reformist when we began to do it, and it would have been if we thought it was an end in itself, but I saw it as part of a strategy to recruit people and

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Bobby Seale and Huey Newton

draw attention to the party."

Other Panther critics contend that the Panthers insist that Oakland is almost last in the number and size of its programs. They point to Chicago and Boston as places where the programs are really functioning well. Seale recalls the time just recently when he spoke in Chicago at a time when the chapter there was distributing 5000 bags of free groceries, "with a chicken in every bag," and enough food to last a family of four or five for three or four days. Other Panther chapters distribute food periodically in this manner, but on a smaller scale, but the party calculates that it has given away 20,000 bags of groceries nationally, as part of its "Angela Davis People's Free Food Program."

Seale sees the programs as educational as well as serving practical community needs, because "we teach the people a very strict line of demarcation between the politics of the community and the bullcrap of the politicians who are supposed to represent them." He feels that the power structure will eventually attack the political leadership that is setting up the programs, or will attack the very programs themselves.

"They're going to have to come down and arrest the bags of free food, they're going to have to arrest the factory that makes the free shoes, they're going to have to arrest our free medical clinics, they're going to have to arrest our free busing program, etc. And that's a contradiction between the people in the community and the police department. At some point or another, the people can actually choose to defend that food and those clinics that they know they have a right to as decent human beings."

Another aspect of the "survival programs" is that they have drawn a good many community people into them. "The community people help us give away the food, and they help us expropriate it from the capitalist system," Seale said, the nearly two years he spent in various jails having dimmed none of his enthusiasm. "We are now training community people to do sickle cell anemia testing. The people themselves have become very involved, helping to run these programs. Now they have something to defend, because they have become organized around their class interests."

At the David Hilliard People's Free Shoe Factory, located in downtown Oakland, there were three men working as Seale stepped in to see how

Photograph by Steve Shames/Photon West

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things were going. The mechanic fixing up the machinery was a party member, but his helper and the mechanical engineer who had supervised the rebuilding of the equipment were both "community workers" donating whatever free time they had to the program. Another community worker, who had experience in making shoes, was due in the next day to get the machinery properly mounted so production could begin early in 1972. Although the Panthers have already given away 3000 pairs of new shoes, they hoped that the factory would produce enough to provide 500 families every month with everything from work shoes to boots to tennis shoes. Other chapters are planning to open shoe factories also. In another part of Oakland, a Panther clothing factory was just getting into operation, one that would produce dresses, leather jackets and slacks, in addition to the clothes the party has been able to collect from other sources and has already given away. "We tell the people that the politicians promise them things and lie, but that we actually produce," Seale said proudly, "but we are only a vehicle for the people."

Seale also noted that, although various government agencies have been doing a lot of talking about sickle cell anemia lately, the Black Panther Party has already tested 20,000 people for the disease, and is sponsoring research, under a national advisory board of doctors, on how to combat it, as no cure for it presently exists. Technicians working with the Panther-sponsored Sickle Cell Disease Research Foundation have come up with a slide elution method of testing that reduces the cost to a little over one cent per test.

The Panthers do not view any of the 13 medical clinics they have set up as replacements for hospitals. "We are doing work in preventive medicine that the hospitals ought to be doing themselves," Seale points out. "The hospitals wait for people to get sick and come to them. We try and get there before people get sick so that they don't need a hospital." The Panthers are not interested in a large network of clinics in any one place. They are seeking to expand the mobile clinic program now being run in Boston to other cities, so that preventive medicine is taken directly to the people, and each small community can be checked out three or four times a year.

Newton is quite emphatic in stating that the survival programs are not to be seen as "counter-institutions" as white radicals view their free clinics, food conspiracies, and communes. He views these as attempts to run away from, instead of combatting and heightening, the contradictions within establishment institutions. "With the state of technology and communications today, you can't run away." Newton pointed out, and then asked, "How can you avoid them when China, Vietnam and Africa haven't been able to avoid them?"

The survival programs are aimed at tapping the "internal contradictions" of the American system. Most of the food and supplies used by the Panthers in their programs are donated by businessmen in the black community. In recent months, the Panthers have focused on black businessmen. This new approach was signalled by an essay in the Panther paper by Newton entitled "Black Capitalism Reanalyzed." White radicals turned away from the Panthers in even greater numbers after this essay, and one by Father Earl Neil on the church's role in the revolution, appeared. "But the black capitalists ate it up," Newton said, explaining that the businessmen were donating to a party that is against business in the first place, and aiming at negating businessmen. "He (the black businessman) is a contradiction himself, and we're trying to raise his consciousness. If he stops giving, he loses business because we boycott him, and if he gets in trouble with the bank because he donates to us, then he's got to make a choice. If he says 'fuck it' to the bank, then he gets more support and more business and that drives him farther into the people's corner."

Most of the work has been done very quietly, both the mass media and the underground press finding little excitement in this patient, unspectacular every-day work, but as Seale commented, "We've gotten to the point where we don't want to talk about jive no more, or try to unify people around poems and poetry. We're bringing people together around their own class interest." This was reminiscent of what Newton said in March 1971, just after announcing he would make no more statements about the party's disagreements with Cleaver. "Don't judge us by what we say," he said. "Judge us by what we do."

None of this means that the Panthers have given up their belief in armed struggle. "Armed struggle is still my belief, and it always will be," Newton said in closing. "We have to get it to that point. We're building and organizing an army to finally get people to the point where we'll fight, because we believe that the only way we will resolve the final contradiction is through armed struggle."

Newton said this in a quiet, firm way, rather than the more rhetorical style which Panther leaders have used in the past. Newton and Seale both stressed that they were "dialectical materialists," interested in moving, "scientifically" heightening the contradictions, and getting away from what they called the old "either/or positions" (either you're part of the solution or part of the problem, or either you're with us or against) which they feel have alienated many community people from the party, and allowed some party members to treat people arrogantly.

Newton said that the Panther Party welcomed criticism if it was constructive and suggested to those who felt that the party was not doing a good job to "lead the people and we'll follow. There's still no one to lay claim to the vanguard role."

He said he was particularly happy to hear criticism coming from white radicals because it was an indication that they have lost their hero. "People who need heroes, need heroes because they are lacking something themselves. You project onto your hero your ideals, and if he fails, you can be very angry with him, but you're not held responsible for doing any action yourself."

He said he felt that whites were still not really serious about organizing their own communities, but if they were, the Panther Party was still interested in coalitions with groups working seriously to organize and mobilize people.

Art Goldberg is currently writing a book on the anti-war movement to be published by Random House.

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The Love Machine: Sex and Scandal in the Penn Central

Q. What did you do while you were in New York for EJA [a Penn Central subsidiary]?

A. General Lassiter said I could be of great, great service to him if I would help in the social life of [Penn Central officers] General Hodge and Dave Bevan, since he [Lassiter] was under a lot of pressure from them due to the company having financial problems . . . .

Q. Did you do any of this . . . ?

A. Yes . . . . On one occasion General Hodge asked if I knew of any young ladies who would go on a business trip to Europe that he was taking with General Lassiter.

by Robert Fitch

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Q. What did you do?
A. I found a young lady that–that was agreeable to taking a European trip with an amiable group.
–J. H. Ricciardi, EJA's former PR director, to House investigators

ON FRIDAY, JUNE 21, 1970, JUST A FEW hours before the nation's financial markets closed, lawyers representing the Penn Central Transportation Company filed a petition in Philadelphia to reorganize under the provisions of the Federal bankruptcy regulations. The news that the world's largest transportation company had gone belly up was not overlooked during the weekend by America's corporate and financial titans. About $82 million of the Penn Central's IOUs, now practically worthless, were sloshing around the big Eastern banks whose liberality towards the company was in no small measure responsible for its excesses. Rather quickly, bankers began to regard the IOUs of several other big corporations including Chrysler, SCM and Avco, with their more customary flintiness. Three billion dollars in short-term corporate loans were called in a twinkling. And a rush began on credit windows everywhere. The full story of the Penn Central crisis, according to Federal Reserve Board member J. L. Robertson who helped supervise the sandbag operation on the nation's financial structure, "has never been told and it never will be. But it's not extreme to say that we avoided another 1933." Help arrived chiefly in the form of Arthur Burns personally manning the FRB's money pumps, but also by way of enormous overseas loans drawn from European money markets. Somewhat later President Nixon got Congress to apply $125 million worth of balm to soothe the Penn Central's creditors. But in the inflationary tide that rose following the salvage operation, Nixon's deflationary economic game plan had to be scuttled. And the country still feels the effects of the bankruptcy on our bloated balance of payments deficit—since the money borrowed in Europe had to be paid back.

Because the Penn Central fiasco did for corporate capitalism about what the *Lusitania* did for ocean travel during World War I, it seemed inevitable that the culprits—any culprits—would soon be found. Months passed. The seasons changed. Over a year went by and the Nixon administration did nothing. By way of explanation of the collapse, it was generally maintained by administration officials that the railroad business was inherently a money-losing operation. However, a lurid and spectacular counter-explanation prepared by Wright Patman's House Banking and Currency Committee appeared in December 1970. Entitled "Executive Jet Aviation," it described a wild scenario of inside self-dealings, corporate pimping of women employees and high-level financial swindling on the part of three principal Penn Central aides. The men were David Bevan, ex-chairman of the railroad's finance committee, General Charles J. Hodge, erstwhile partner in DuPont, Glore Forgan (the Penn Central's investment banker), and General O. F. "Dick" Lassiter, who used to head up a company known as Executive Jet Aviation, Inc. (EJA), in which the Penn Central held the major interest. Copies of the meticulously researched report were forwarded to the Justice Department, the Interstate Commerce Committee and the Security and Exchange Commission. Still, no action.

Finally after 18 months, on January 4, 1972, a local Philadelphia district attorney, Arlen Specter, who acknowledged the help of the Patman Committee staff, handed down indictments against the Penn Central Three. The indictment charges that Messrs. Hodge, Bevan and Lassiter "conspired in their corporate activities to divert in excess of $21 million from the treasury of the Penn Central for themselves and others." Their activities allegedly "drained the resources of the Penn Central, contributing to its bankruptcy." The specific charges include the following:

—Causing the Penn Central subsidiary, Executive Jet Aviation,to enter into money-losing agreements with a travel agency, which the three, together with their friends and relatives, controlled.

—Manipulating $85 million of Penn Central pension funds which Bevan and Hodge controlled, in order to benefit an outfit known as "Penphil," a private investment group, which they also controlled.

—In addition to these charges, General Lassiter is charged with personally "misappropriating" $130,000 of Executive Jet funds and siphoning them off to his own company, the now-defunct Lassiter Aircraft Corporation.

David Bevan, the middle-class boy who after years of corporate in-fighting emerged as Richard King Mellon's hand-picked candidate to head the Penn Central's finance committee, says he's a scapegoat. "Except for the fact that I am experiencing it myself," he has been quoted as saying, "I would say this sort of thing just cannot happen in America." And while General Lassiter is asking Governor Reagan to block extradition from California, Bevan wants a quick trial, "so that I can at last be vindicated." Nevertheless, attorneys for Charles Hodge, who incidentally is Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans' former business partner, estimates that the legal proceedings will stretch out for at least two years. This makes it all the more necessary, without prejudging the case, that the Patman report which served as the basis of the indictments be given the widest exposure.

As we review the stumbling performance of the Penn Central corporate variety show, however, it's important to remember that nearly all the dealings described were accomplished using other people's money, e.g., money belonging to the Penn Central's now-depleted pension fund, for

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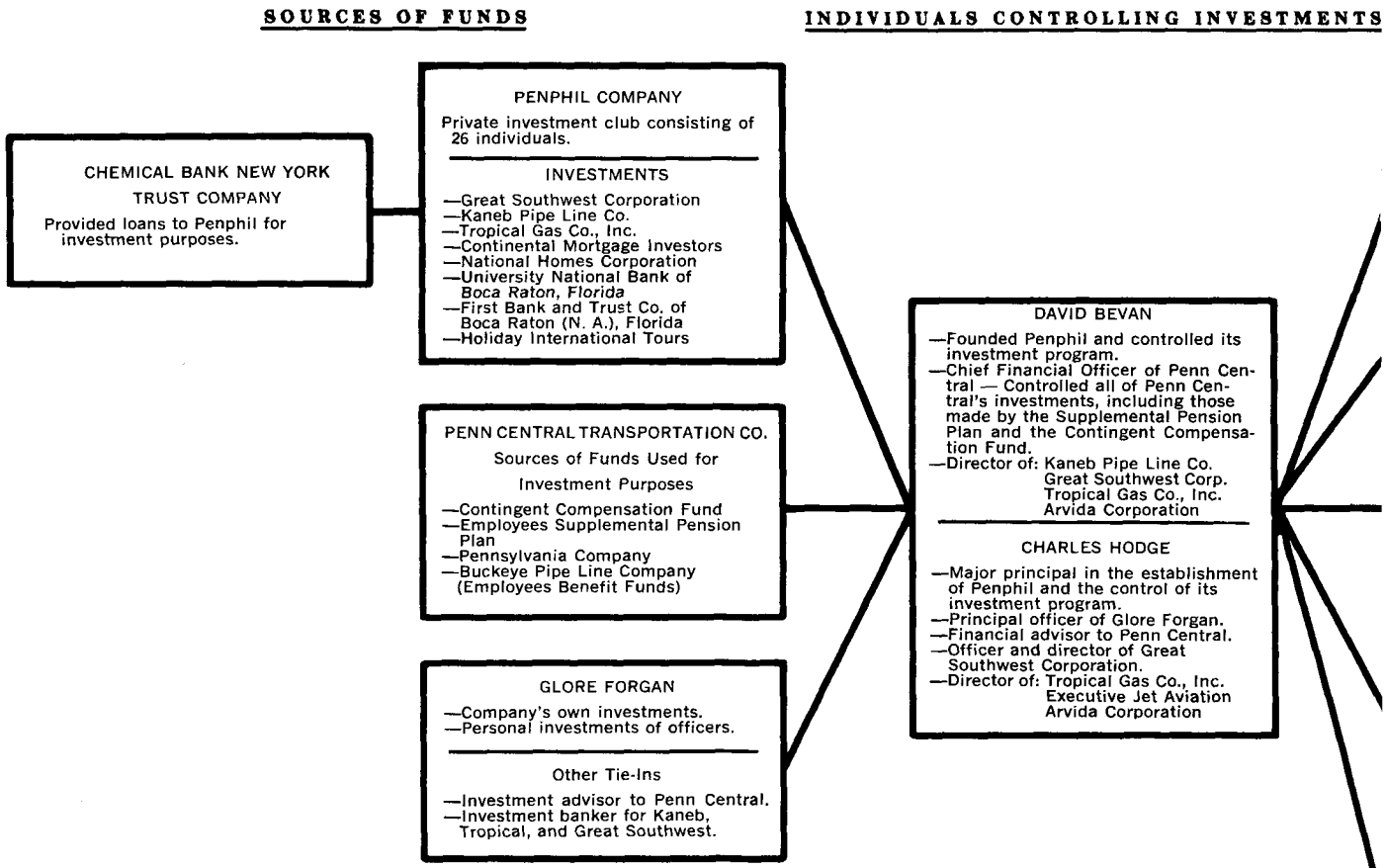
SOURCES OF FUNDS, INTERLOCKS AND PENPHIL I


SOURCES OF FUNDS
INDIVIDUALS CONTROLLING INVESTMENTS
CHEMICAL BANK NEW YORK TRUST COMPANY
Provided loans to Penphil for investment purposes.
PENPHIL COMPANY
Private investment club consisting of 26 individuals.
INVESTMENTS
—Great Southwest Corporation
—Kaneb Pipe Line Co.
—Tropical Gas Co., Inc.
—Continental Mortgage Investors
—National Homes Corporation
—University National Bank of Boca Raton, Florida
—First Bank and Trust Co. of Boca Raton (N. A.), Florida
—Holiday International Tours
PENN CENTRAL TRANSPORTATION CO.
Sources of Funds Used for Investment Purposes
—Contingent Compensation Fund
—Employees Supplemental Pension Plan
—Pennsylvania Company
—Buckeye Pipe Line Company (Employees Benefit Funds)
GLORE FORGAN
—Company's own investments.
—Personal investments of officers.
Other Tie-Ins
—Investment advisor to Penn Central.
—Investment banker for Kaneb, Tropical, and Great Southwest.
DAVID BEVAN
—Founded Penphil and controlled its investment program.
—Chief Financial Officer of Penn Central — Controlled all of Penn Central's investments, including those made by the Supplemental Pension Plan and the Contingent Compensation Fund.
—Director of: Kaneb Pipe Line Co.
Great Southwest Corp.
Tropical Gas Co., Inc.
Arvida Corporation
CHARLES HODGE
—Major principal in the establishment of Penphil and the control of its investment program.
—Principal officer of Glore Forgan.
—Financial advisor to Penn Central.
—Officer and director of Great Southwest Corporation.
—Director of: Tropical Gas Co., Inc.
Executive Jet Aviation
Arvida Corporation

Staff Report of the Committee on Banking and Currency, House of Representatives, 92nd Congress, First Session, January 3, 197

which Bevan and Hodge were serving as trustees. Money belonging to the pension fund would be invested in some Penn Central subsidiary, like Executive Jet Aviation, then EJA would begin to deal with companies closely held by Bevan, Hodge or Lassiter. The Penn Central pension fund got pillaged, hurting real people, the railroad lost money and only the Penn Central Three made out well since they held comparatively little stock in the Penn Central itself.

WHILE THE EXECUTIVE JET STORY IS ONLY one number in the travelling Dave and Charlie non-railroad investment "diversification" show, it is undoubtedly the most piquant and spectacular. The cast featured big show business names like Jimmy Stewart and Arthur Godfrey, war business names like General Curtis LeMay and General Lassiter, and ordinary big business names like Jersey Standard's former board chairman, M. J. Rathbone. All shared top billing on EJA's Board of Directors.

The basic story line was simple, albeit a bit far-fetched. In 1964, Dave Bevan and Charlie Hodge met General Lassiter, who had a can't-miss idea for a new world-wide air passenger and freight service to rival Pan Am and TWA. The only trouble was that General Lassiter had no money and no airplanes, just his vision and years of experience watching other people fly planes in the Air Force. Bevan, being the chairman of the Penn Central finance committee and head of the employee pension fund, told him not to worry. With Hodge, chairman of the executive committee of Dupont, Glore Forgan as his number-one helper, he had access to plenty of other people's money. Bevan and Hodge decided to give the general cash to buy the planes for his new airline. They called it Executive Jet Aviation, Inc.

There is only one complication in the basic plot. Despite appearances and 170 odd subsidiaries of all types from pipeline companies to amusement parks, the Penn Central was

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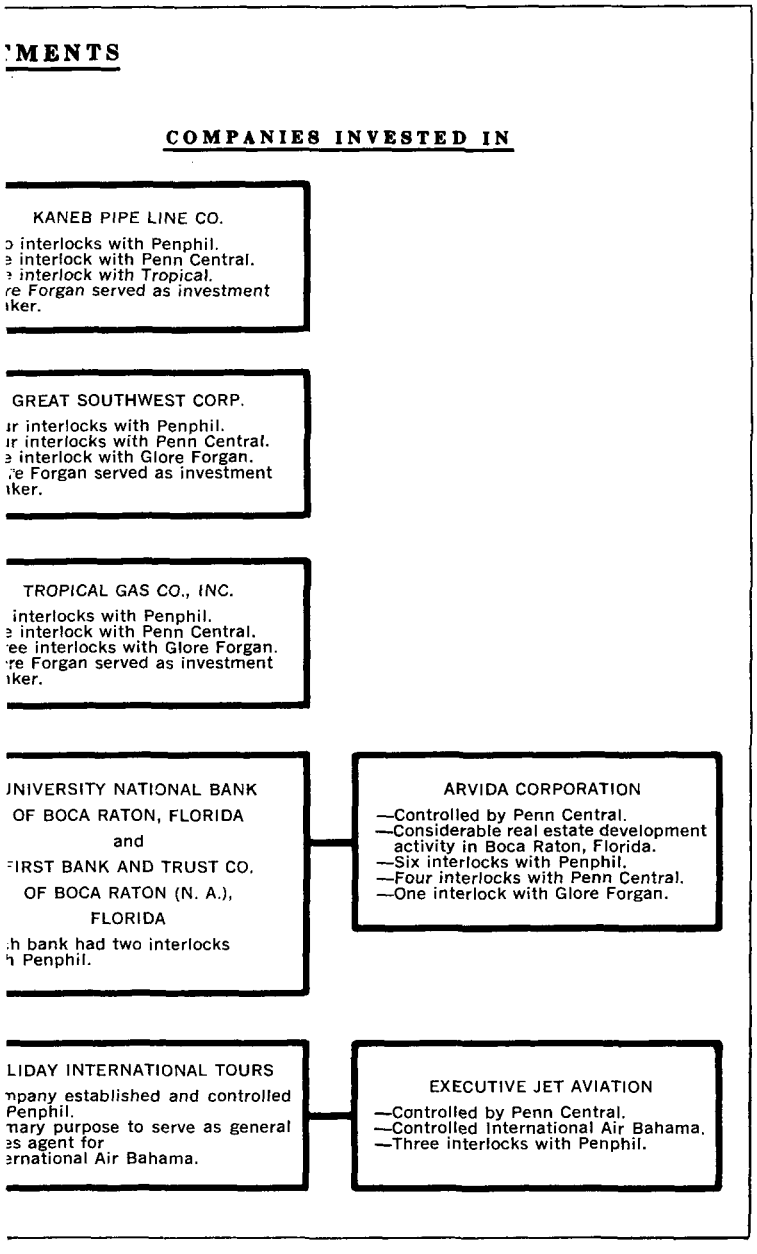

really a railroad. And the Federal Aviation Act, enforced by the Civil Aeronautics Board, prohibits railroads from running aircarriers. Bevan and Hodge wracked their brains trying to think up some way to avoid this legal booby trap. It must have occurred to them to ask, "Is Executive Jet an air carrier simply because it operates planes that will carry freight and air passengers?" Because if Executive Jet wasn't an "air carrier," then Penn Central could fly. Advice of independent counsel was sought on this legal question. First they approached Covington and Burling, a top Washington law firm with lots of big airline clients. EJA looked like an air carrier to them. But Bevan and Hodge finally found a lawyer, Bruce Sundlun, who saw the problem from a different angle. Sundlun was looking at EJA from the inside where he served as the new company's corporate counsel. And from there, EJA didn't look like an "air carrier" at all. With this welcome opinion, the runways were cleared. At least temporarily.

Now General Lassiter, armed only with his checkbook and lines of credit from the Chase Manhattan Bank, the First National City Bank, the Chemical Bank and the railroad's employee pension fund, quickly began gathering together an impressive collection of jet airplanes. He signed a letter of intent with Lockheed to buy 6 L-500s (the civilian counterpart of the giant C-5A) for a total cost of $136,500,000. Boeing got an order for two 707s and two 727 jets for a total of $26 million. Lassiter picked up several other jets, including the high point of his shopping spree—a specially outfitted Lear Jet containing hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of special electronic equipment. Festooned with the insignia "General O. F. Lassiter" on the fuselage, it became the commandship in EJA's armada.

With this shining new fleet in the hangars or on order, two obstacles remained. One was finding customers to ride the planes. The other was keeping downwind from the CAB. When the three partners attempted to take over Johnson Flying Service, a small domestic carrier, to compel it to lease EJA planes, they had to ask the CAB's permission. And the CAB, ruling on the basis of what must have seemed to Bevan and Hodge an overly broad definition of what an air carrier really was, decided that the take-over was illegal. And what was worse, the CAB ordered the railroad to divest itself of its controlling interest in EJA. Naturally, the CAB's action forced Bevan and Hodge to change strategy. Since they had to buy up airlines in order to lease EJA's planes, and since the U.S. airline scene was being closely monitored by the CAB, the partners decided to take over, as secretly as possible, small supplemental *foreign* airlines and get *them* to lease EJA planes. Their goal was a world-wide network of air carriers all controlled through EJA by Dave and Charlie with General Lassiter in operational command. The imperial vision was reflected in a telegram from attorney Sundlun to an EJA officer. "Charlie and Dick agree that we should spread the flag wherever possible."

Bevan, Hodge and Lassiter literally covered the globe in their effort to rival Pan Am and establish a "World Operating Rights Program." Potential sellers in Spain, Germany, Switzerland, Saudi Arabia, France, Netherland Antilles and Indonesia were all approached. But what they wound up with was a pair of tiny supplementals. International Air Bahamas—whose sole asset was landing rights in Nassau and Luxembourg—and an outfit known as Transavia Holland. Even this, however, was too much of a threat for the real Pan Am. With its world-wide intelligence system which, says one airline attorney, "makes the CIA look like a bunch of little boys reading graffiti on the bathroom wall," Pan Am was soon able to discover Penn Central's attempt to penetrate their friendly skies with competition. An admirable espionage coup, because Bevan and Hodge had taken elaborate precautions to cover their global tracks. These included setting up several accounts in Liechtenstein banks where money was passed back and forth between EJA and several dummy "buyers" who would actually carry out the purchase of the foreign airlines and then turn around and sell them to EJA. Pan Am tipped off the CAB.

Meanwhile back in the U.S. Bevan and Hodge had been trying to carry out the letter if not the spirit of the CAB

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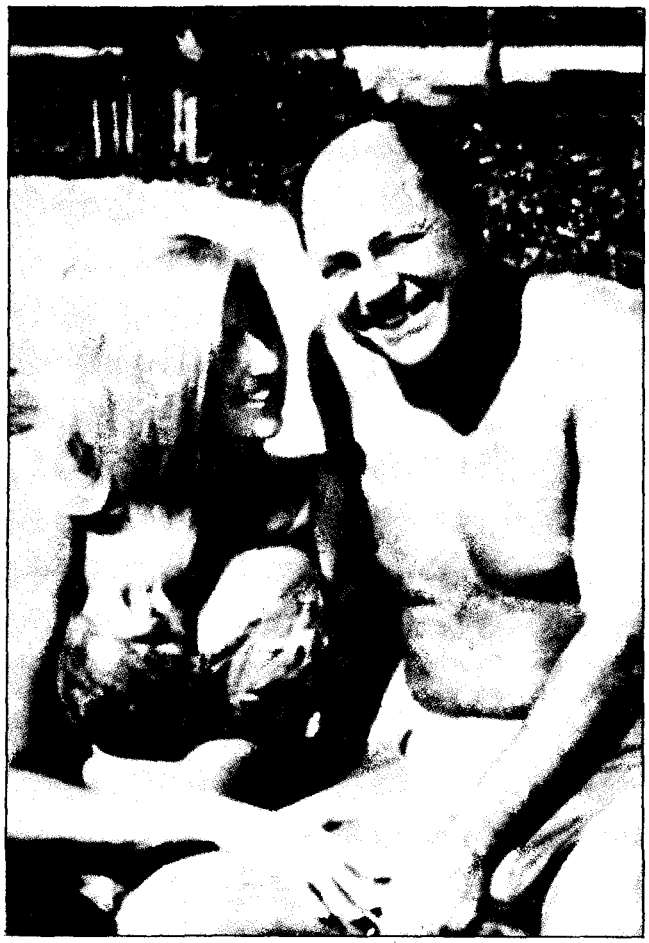

Olbert F. "Dick" Lassiter with Linda Vaughn

divestiture order. They offered to sell some of the Penn Central's holdings to their corporate cousins, U.S. Steel and Burlington Industries. "We must show," a Penn Central memo written at the time reads, "that there is no possibility that U.S. Steel, Burlington and Penn Central are so friendly that equal participation by the three companies will be tantamount to control by Penn Central. In this regard," the memo allowed, "the common directorships between the U.S. Steel Company and the Penn Central board, particularly Saunders (Stuart T. Saunders, Penn Central Board Chairman and director of U.S. Steel) are troublesome. We must also be careful to show that the companies do not go out of the way to give each other business, and are not engaged in any other joint ventures or common schemes." A piece of special pleading given Penn Central's connecting trackage with the Burlington and its position as U.S. Steel's major shipper.

As information of all these strategems penetrated CAB headquarters, hearings were held, and in January 1969 a file search was ordered at EJA offices and the evidence gathered confirmed the fact that the Penn Central had controlled EJA while illegally trying to carry out its world operating rights program. Ordered to pay a $70,000 fine, Penn Central was also forced to turn over control of EJA to the trusteeship of the Detroit Bank and Trust Company—one of the few giant banks in the country with no close relations to the Penn Central.

The $70,000 fine was the second largest in CAB history. But it must have seemed like a friendly cuff to EJA, compared with the barrage of financial uppercuts, crosses and hooks the company was taking through the peculiar activities of its three top navigators. EJA sold its interest in International Air Bahamas (IAB) to General Lassiter's close friend Sigurdur Helgason, president of Icelandic Airlines, for a price House investigators describe as "extremely reasonable." All told, EJA took a $2.6 million loss on IAB. Transavia Holland, the other EJA purchase, was never able to meet its lease payments to EJA, so it was sold off at a loss of $900,000.

Just what, if anything, Bevan, Hodge and Lassiter got personally out of the Transavia and IAB deals, besides a lot of global junketing at company expense, remains entangled in an incredible maze of dealings with shadowy figures from the netherworld of international finance. These included Fidel Goetz, a German national controlling numerous financial institutions and corporations in Liechtenstein, and his representatives, Joseph and Francis Rosenbaum (now serving 10 years in prison for defrauding the U.S. government through foreign corporate and bank transactions). But while God only knows exactly what the partners cooked up with Goetz and the Rosenbaums—no one is obliged to keep financial records in Liechtenstein—House investigators have put together a pretty clear picture of their inside self-dealing in the U.S. By using their trusty private "investment club," Penphil, the two financiers were able to tap the PC/EJA cash flow in an utterly ingenious way. First they had Penphil give birth to Holiday International Tours (HIT), which existed mainly on paper. Then they had EJA sign a deal with HIT. The agreement made HIT EJA's exclusive ticket agent. For its services, HIT extracted a fat percentage of EJA's gross sales and it got EJA to pay all its salaries and office expenses until HIT could become operational. Obviously, the only reason why EJA signed such an insane agreement with HIT was that Bevan and Hodge controlled the deal at both ends. They controlled EJA through the Penn Central and HIT through Penphil.

IN THE UPSIDE-DOWN FLIGHT PATH of Executive Jet Aviation, its executives, instead of vying to enhance company profits, raced to see who could drain off company assets fastest. And in this competition General Lassiter exceeded even his mentors. They used HIT. Lassiter's corporate instrument was even bolder. In 1969 he created "Lassiter Aircraft." Supposedly the company was going to design and manufacture airplanes for EJA. In turn, EJA, Lassiter said, would sell planes to Middle Eastern buyers that he would line up. A big deal was brewing, he recollected to House investigators, with an oil rich sheik. A whole aviation industry would arise from the desert sands. "We would start right from scratch. The sheik was to come to California and he was to visit Governor Reagan. We were included as part of the party. It wound up to be quite a bit of money. We spent a lot of effort, time and energy on developing this whole program. Unfortunately," Lassiter added, "At this time the Middle East problem got rather critical and the unification of these crucial states was having some problems. One thing led to another and we dropped

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the program." The other shoe dropping was the $150,000 EJA had sunk into "Lassiter Aircraft," which never produced a single plane. Lassiter's company did however help solve the housing problem for the General's women friends and acquaintances. EJA funds to Lassiter Aircraft formed the down-payment on a house for his latest fiancée, Helene Falk, one of Lassiter's many intimates who emerged from the ranks of EJA's stewardesses. The eventual cost to EJA totaled $144,000.

Exposure was just what Lassiter seemed most preoccupied with. The General maintained an extensive photo library chronicling the history of his friendships with numerous women, the cost of which was again borne by EJA. "The photographs," the Patman report notes primly, "many of which show undraped women, were kept on the EJA premises" and were later seized by Lassiter's successors.

Just what corporate purpose was advanced by General Lassiter's association with Linda Vaughn must have been a question House investigators asked when going over other items of Lassiter's expense account. As "Miss Hurst Golden Shifter," Ms. Vaughn is employed by Hurst Performance Products to ride around auto race tracks on a giant Hurst gear shift, prior to the start of the race. She says she took several free plane trips to Europe at EJA's expense, allegedly in connection with promotion activities there. EJA also picked up the tab for Ms. Vaughn's flights to and from her home in Georgia and for the numerous instances when Lassiter, flying company planes, visited her at racing events around the country. Lassiter's affair with Miss Hurst Golden Shifter achieved mild notoriety when the April 1970 issue of *Car and Driver* featured a story on the pair, hardly the kind of exposure Penn Central executives hoped to be getting from their non-rail diversification program.

Sometime during 1968 or 1969, it must have occurred to Bevan and Hodge, who had first-hand knowledge of Lassiter's activities, that the General wasn't exactly the man to guide EJA's fortunes. The company never turned a profit in any year of its existence. In fact, Penn Central lost $21 million on its EJA investment. But they continued to pay Lassiter, this incredible mixture of Dogberry, Smilin' Jack and Billy Sol Estes, a higher salary than the presidents of Pan Am or United Airlines or any of the U.S. supplemental air carriers. In one year alone, his expense account reached $57,827. What kept Bevan and Hodge, who were nothing if not hard-nosed financial operators, from disposing of Lassiter as a sacrificial goat?

The answer to the question leads away from corporate boardrooms to Las Vegas gaming rooms, Miami cocktail lounges and New York apartments, where much of the heavier EJA action took place.

In October 1970 Lassiter claimed in a legal deposition that Bevan and Hodge had been threatened with public disclosure of certain personal activities which might have proved embarrassing to their reputations. The man who threatened to expose them was Lassiter's director of public relations, J. H. Ricciardi. In a sworn statement before House investigators, Ricciardi explained the scope of his public relations work for EJA:

Q. What did you do while you were in New York for EJA?

Stuart and Dorothy Saunders

A. I could possibly refer to this as public relations. During the first day I was here in New York General Lassiter said I could be of great, great service to him if I would help in the social life of General Hodge and Dave Bevan, since he [Lassiter] was under a lot of pressure from them due to the company having financial problems in not getting their supplemental ticket, and to possibly alleviate some of the pressure he was under if I could see to it while they [Hodge and Bevan] were in New York and they wanted some companionship, that I do what I could to assist.

Q. Did you do any of this?

A. Yes.

Q. What did you do?

A. On one occasion General Hodge asked if I knew of any young ladies who would go on a business trip to Europe that he was taking with General Lassiter.

Q. And did you tell him that you did?

A. I said I'd see what I could do.

Q. Did you do anything?

A. Yes.

Q. What did you do?

A. I found a young lady that — that was agreeable to taking a European trip with an amiable group.

Q. Do you know her name?

A. Yes, Helene ———.

Q. Do you know her address?

A. It's, I believe, ———.

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Q. Do you know her phone number?

A. I don't have it here, but I could get it.

Q. When did this take place?

A. This took place some time, I believe, August, early August or late July [1967]. I don't recall.

Q. You say that General Lassiter asked you to do this to take the pressure off him. What pressure was he referring to?

A. He was under pressure from David Bevan, who represented Pennsylvania Railroad, that supplied moneys to start Executive Jet, and they didn't seem to be too happy with the monthly statements. There didn't seem to be any improvement in business and that they were having difficulty with the FAA on acquiring a supplemental certificate and I guess they had to keep pouring more money every month into Executive Jet Aviation, and he felt that if they were socially happy it would take some of the pressure off them and off of him and make them very happy.

Ricciardi admitted that he aided Lassiter in his constant search for women to accompany Bevan and Hodge on trips to Europe, Las Vegas and Los Angeles. In August, to take one of many examples, Lassiter asked Ricciardi to find "suitable companionship" for Bevan and Hodge for a Las Vegas trip. "I found a couple of young ladies," Ricciardi recalled, "that were willing to take the trip. One was called Beth. She was with General Hodge — and a young lady called Corrinne. And General Lassiter."

According to Ricciardi, Lassiter offered him $18,000 a year, plus $32,000 in stock options if he would carry out his public relations work and head up the Miami sales office for EJA. Then, however, Lassiter whittled the figure to $12,000. And after the EJA management had a chance to evaluate Ricciardi's qualifications for the sales job, pressure was placed on Lassiter to withdraw the offer entirely, which Ricciardi says Lassiter did. It was then Ricciardi threatened to expose the full nature of his "public relations" work for EJA. He called Lassiter and said he would call a press conference to detail EJA's social arrangements. Finally he filed suit against EJA. According to Ricciardi's lawyers, a settlement of $13,000 was finally reached. EJA denies having paid this amount and just who paid the settlement—Bevan, Hodge or Lassiter—is still unknown since none of the principles are available for comment.

Whether Bevan and Hodge were kept from firing General Lassiter for fear of public scandal, or whether the real reason was the success of Ricciardi's public relations program, the acts of blackmail, spoilation of corporate assets for private purposes, and the contracting and subcontracting in women add up to what Wright Patman calls "one of the most sordid pictures of the American business community" that has ever been revealed. Nevertheless, the EJA story had an opera bouffe epilogue that took place in July 1970. Attorney Bruce Sundlun, who got EJA off the ground with his precedent-shattering legal decision on the company's status as an air carrier, finally decided to blow the whistle on General Lassiter. He went to the Detroit Bank and Trust which was voting the Penn Central shares in EJA since the CAB ordered divestiture, and convinced the trust officer in charge to replace Lassiter as president. In the midnight raid, Sundlun took physical control of the Columbus headquarters. Three weeks later General Lassiter, commanding a squad of armed guards, counter-attacked the office, but was thrown back by Sundlun's forces. General Lassiter has since been enjoined by a Delaware Court from carrying out further air or ground operations against the EJA offices. Finally, about seventeen months later, on January 4, 1972, the day of the indictments, Judge John P. Fullum's reorganization court approved the sale of Penn Central's interest in EJA, once valued at $21 million, to Sundlun and a Philadelphia businessman for less than $1 million.

DID THE PENN CENTRAL THREE bring down the railroad by their actions? Of course they helped. But the dealings of Messrs. Hodge, Bevan and Lassiter must be kept in perspective. They are charged with causing monetary damages of only $66 million. In its prime, the Penn Central was capable of losing upwards of $400 million a year. The real responsibility for the Penn Central disaster still has to rest at the top—at the level of the board of directors. A board honeycombed with outside directors using their positions to advance outside business interests just as outrageously, if less spectacularly, as Bevan and Hodge. Few of them, show the Penn Central board minutes recently released by ICC, cared about making the Penn Central into a profitable, efficient rail carrier.

As bankruptcy neared, and the threat of stockholder suits hung over the boardroom, the minutes show a frantic scramble for the exits on the part of directors with obvious conflicts of interest. Louis Cabot, of the Boston Cabots, wrote a quick note to explain why he was bailing out. It read in part: "another conflict of interest is my position as chairman of a major shipper of carbon black and other products on the nation's railroads, where it is my obligation to negotiate for lower, not higher, freight rates." Other resigning board members included Penn Central shippers like John Dorrance, chairman of Campbell Soup Company; Edward J. Hanley, Chairman of Allegheny Ludlum Steel Company; Franklin J. Lunding, chairman of the executive committee of Jewel Companies, Inc.; Walter Marting, president of Hanna Mining Company, and R. G. Rincliffe, chairman of the Philadelphia Electric Company.

Given the weight of these shipping interests, it is hardly surprising that the Board gave up trying to make profits out of carrying freight and bled off resources for rail diversification investments, like Great Southwest Corporation (real estate promotion), Tropical Gas Co., Inc., Kaned Pipeline Co., Arvida Corp., and of course Executive Jet Aviation.

Pennsylvania Governor Milton Shapp's recollection of conversations with Stuart Saunders, chairman of the Penn Central's board of directors contains the most precise distillation of that body's wisdom and mentality:

"I've been at several parties with him where he had a few drinks and he was always talking about Litton Industries and how Litton and these other conglomerates had cash coming in and were putting it to good use, getting good returns. He said he wanted to keep the money for real estate investments instead of putting it in the fucking railroad. That's what he said, the fucking railroad."

Robert Fitch is an editor of RAMPARTS. *His most recent book* Who Rules the Corporation? *(Random House) will be released in the fall.*

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Underground Medicine: Ups and Downs of the Free Clinics

WHEN THE HAIGHT ASHBURY FREE CLINIC opened its doors in 1967, it ushered in a movement seeking to respond to the critical needs of the youth culture. The new life-style, with heavy emphasis on mind-expanding drugs and communal living, resulted in a rash of health problems ranging from bad drug trips to nutritional deficiencies. Traditional medical institutions were unsuited to either the value system or the problems faced by the young patients. For instance, kids on bad trips taken to emergency wards often ended up in mental hospitals if they were lucky; in jails if they weren't. Rather than risk incarceration, many young people went untreated.

Although spawned by the needs of the youth culture, free clinics have enjoyed increasingly broad appeal in Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano communities. For people traditionally barred from medical institutions because of racism, cost and location, the attractiveness of "free" institutions, more accessible to their neighborhoods and perhaps even to their control, is evident. And many of the more than 200 free clinics in operation today rose on the wave of "black power" and "community control" to begin to meet the centuries of unmet health needs in ghetto communities across America.

But beyond a response to the unmet needs of Third World or hip communities, free clinics have risen in the wake of the widespread failure of America's traditional health institutions: the failure of doctors not only to treat bad trips, but to provide any minimal standard of care in ghetto communities; the failure of hospitals to break down the hierarchy among health workers that fosters poor patient care; the failure of Blue Cross, and now Medicare and Medicaid, to eliminate financial barriers to decent medical care. In sum, free clinics are a response to what has become a thorough-going crisis in the American medical system.

ALL FREE CLINICS HAVE, WITH VARYING clarity, focused on a vision of good health care which they try to represent in their activities. (1) Health care is a right and should be free at the point of delivery. (2) Health services should be comprehensive, unfragmented and decentralized. (3) medicine should be demystified; when possible patients should be permitted to choose among alternative methods of treatment based upon their needs; (4) Health care should be deprofessionalized; health care should be delivered in a courteous and educational manner. Health care skills should be transferred to worker and patient alike, and they should be permitted to practice and share these skills. (5) Community/worker control of health institutions should be governed by the people who use and work in them.

In their attempts to implement this vision, free clinics attain a surprising homogeneity. They are located on or near the main drag of whatever community they intend to serve—whether it be Telegraph Avenue in Berkeley or Greenmount Avenue in Baltimore. They share an awkward layout—whether it be in a store-front, second-story office or church basement. Unlike the out-patient departments (OPDs) they seek to outdo, they do not make the error of confusing barrenness with cleanliness.

There is a reception area of desks and files. A donations can is located prominently. There's a waiting area with second-hand furniture lined up against the walls. The reading matter can range from underground papers to brochures like *What You Should Know About VD* and *TB and You*.

There are usually three examining rooms; they are large enough to contain a doctor, a patient examining table and little else. Many are constructed from partitions and frequently have curtains instead of doors. A modest lab and pharmacy claim whatever large closets or corners may be left over. The lab will have a microscope, hematocrit ma-

by Constance Bloomfield and Howard Levy

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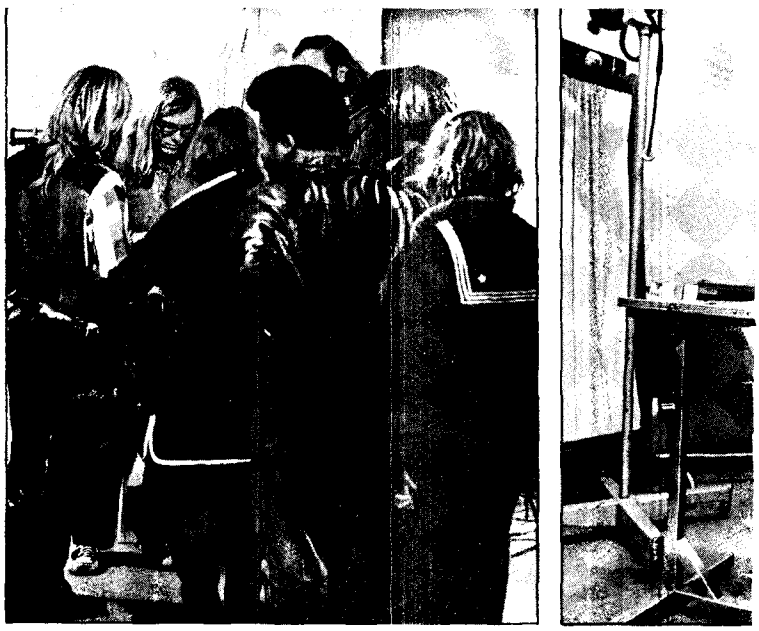

chine, and equipment for urinalysis. The pharmacy has a well-used copy of *Physicians' Desk Reference* and other pharmaceutical literature and is stocked with sample drugs charmed from friendly drug company detail men.

In fact, in most free clinics just about everything is donated. They all have been fixed up with free labor; in one case, plumbing and electrical work was donated by union locals. Ironically, several clinics got a lot of their medical equipment from doctors' widows who were dismantling their husbands' offices. Some have equipment and supplies which have been "liberated" from local hospitals.

In the year or two that most free clinics have been open, each has had upwards of 3000 patients. Two-thirds to three-quarters of these patients were women. Far less than half were ever seen more than once. About 200 could be called "hard-core patients"—those who rely on the clinic for continuous care.

Most clinics have reported that, when they first opened, a high proportion of the patients were young white dropouts who were frequently not even from the neighborhood. After a while, in those areas where the residents are not primarily hip, the patient population has started to reflect the neighborhood as a whole—older, more ethnic, working class or whatever.

A distinctive (and perhaps the most vulnerable) thing about free clinics is that they rely on volunteers donating their skills. Although some clinics have a few employees on subsistence salaries, the delivery of medical care is totally dependent on good will. And despite the deprofessionalization of some medical skills, the clinic is really dependent on the good will of doctors. Thus, while doctors can pick and choose among free clinics, virtually no clinics have ever asked a doctor to leave, even though they all wanted to from time to time.

In many clinics, the size of the staff approximates the size of the patient load on any given night (average 25). The Peoples' Free Medical Clinic in Baltimore is open four nights a week, has five paid staff members, and approximately 150 volunteers. While many clinics operate from a smaller pool of volunteers, the Baltimore Clinic has a generally typical breakdown of labor and functions: doctors, nurses, coordinator-receptionists, peoples' counselors-therapists, women's counselors, laboratory technicians, patient advocates, child care personnel.

The bulk of the labor contributed to free clinics comes from non-professionals, some of whom may be health science students, but most have had no formal health science education. Patients are encouraged to volunteer in all clinics. While this actually occurs to only a limited degree, clinic staffs do resemble the patients more closely than in any other medical institution.

Nearly all free clinics put a great deal of emphasis on the transfer of skills. The delegation of minor professional skills to paramedical workers is not such a radical departure from tradition. Even the most conservative medical societies have adopted the idea for economic reasons. In free clinics, however, the skill transfer system is designed to serve and demonstrate closely related objectives: the demystification and deprofessionalization of medicine.

In clinics where skill transfer is highly valued, a Horatio Alger attitude prevails: "We learn as much as we want to and do as much as we can." Some clinics have professionalized the deprofessionalization by having formal courses taught by local health institutions for novices to the medical field. In most, however, the learning goes on in an over-the-shoulder apprentice fashion.

This raises a profound question which most free clinics have not faced: to what extent are free clinics using their patients as teaching material, just like the OPD's? Are patients given a choice of being served by a trained medic or a medic-in-training? While a Cincinnati clinic will not let med students "play doctor," the comment of one medical student should give pause. "I enjoy working in the free clinic," he said, "because I can do things that the medical school won't let a third-year student do."

Transfer of skills goes beyond nursing functions with non-professional lab technicians, pharmacists, and dental clinics. Transfer of skills not only serves to demystify but also to change traditional sex stereotypes, with male receptionists or female pharmacists. In women's free clinics changed sex roles become closely linked with demystification and deprofessionalization. A frequently heard refrain is, "We won't be dependent for our medical care upon male gynecologists."

Photographs by Elihu Blotnick/BBM

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While a few clinics have formal job rotation, most have an *ad hoc* voluntary rotation. In a number of the clinics everyone on the staff can take blood, read vital signs, do pregnancy testing and pinch-hit for each other. Although the doctors are excluded from job rotation, in most free clinics they are expected to do some of the menial work—cleaning up, mopping floors, etc.

[CLINIC PROCEDURE]

EVERY CLINIC IS CONFRONTED BY MORE patients than it can handle; they are all confounded by the problem of waiting time. Most clinics open around 6 PM, two to four nights a week. They see an average of twenty-five patients a night. There are usually three doctors on duty, who (like their OPD colleagues) cannot always be counted on to show up on time or show up at all. The clinic will close at 10:30 or 11. Since few, if any, appointments are made, some patients may have to wait all evening to see a doctor. All clinics have had trouble cutting the average clinic visit down to below an hour-and-a-half or two. The wait may be broken up with extensive medical histories and the like. Those clinics that have tried classes or films in the waiting room have usually given up in exhaustion and chaos.

Since the jam-up is almost always at the doctor's end of things, proposed solutions usually mean shortening the patient's time with the doctor or instituting staff routines that "use the doctor's time more efficiently." This starts violating some widely held free clinic principles like: "the patient has the right to have all of his or her questions answered," or "this isn't a business, so what's all this talk about efficiency?" and "the staff is here to serve the patient, not be drones for the queen-bee doctor."

Every clinic turns patients away—not only because of the waiting period, but because they all agree, "We'd never go home if we didn't." "There is a bottomless pit of patients who can't, don't or won't go to the hospital. Maybe they can't go because of the law, or they don't because it's so far away and they don't have translators. Or they just won't go because of the attitudes and the hassle they get there." Although this problem has been handled with more dispatch than the waiting problem, it involves still more serious trade-offs. All of the clinics have decided that it's better to turn people away or limit the scope of their services, than sacrifice the quality of the services they do render. Generally they use some variation of a first-come-first-serve basis coupled with geographic boundaries.

Theoretically, other staff members can relieve some of the pressure and dependence on the doctor. Among other things they can take care of less seriously ill patients who don't need the doctor, thereby shortening the waiting time and getting more patients through in an evening. However, theory doesn't seem to work out in practice. Despite the fact that in some clinics the staff-patient ratio approaches one-to-one and the fact that in many clinics a good deal of "transfer of skill" goes on, in *narrow medical* terms, the bulk of all this energy and attention does not amount to much more medical attention than an OPD patient would receive from a nurse/receptionist.

[THE PATIENT ADVOCATE]

THOSE CLINICS WHICH HAVE A MORE developed consciousness about the faults of American medicine or have a message that they want to get across with their medicine have patient advocates. Those clinics which make good use of the patient advocate offer a significant departure from medicine as practiced in the OPD.

Every patient is assigned an advocate by the receptionist. The advocate takes the patient's medical history or collects the file if the patient has come before. They discuss the patient's complaint. This conversation is frequently used to communicate some of the goals of the clinic to the patient. "We explain to the patient about the differences in this clinic, what we believe in. We also tell them that we can't do everything and that sometime they'll have to push on to the County Hospital. When we take her medical *her*story, we talk about why women run the clinic and why it's important for us to control our bodies."

The advocate introduces the patient to the doctor and is frequently present during the exam to make sure that the doctor is aware of all the patient's needs, is courteous and explains what he or she is doing. Sometimes direct con-

Far right, Jeffrey Blankfort/BBM

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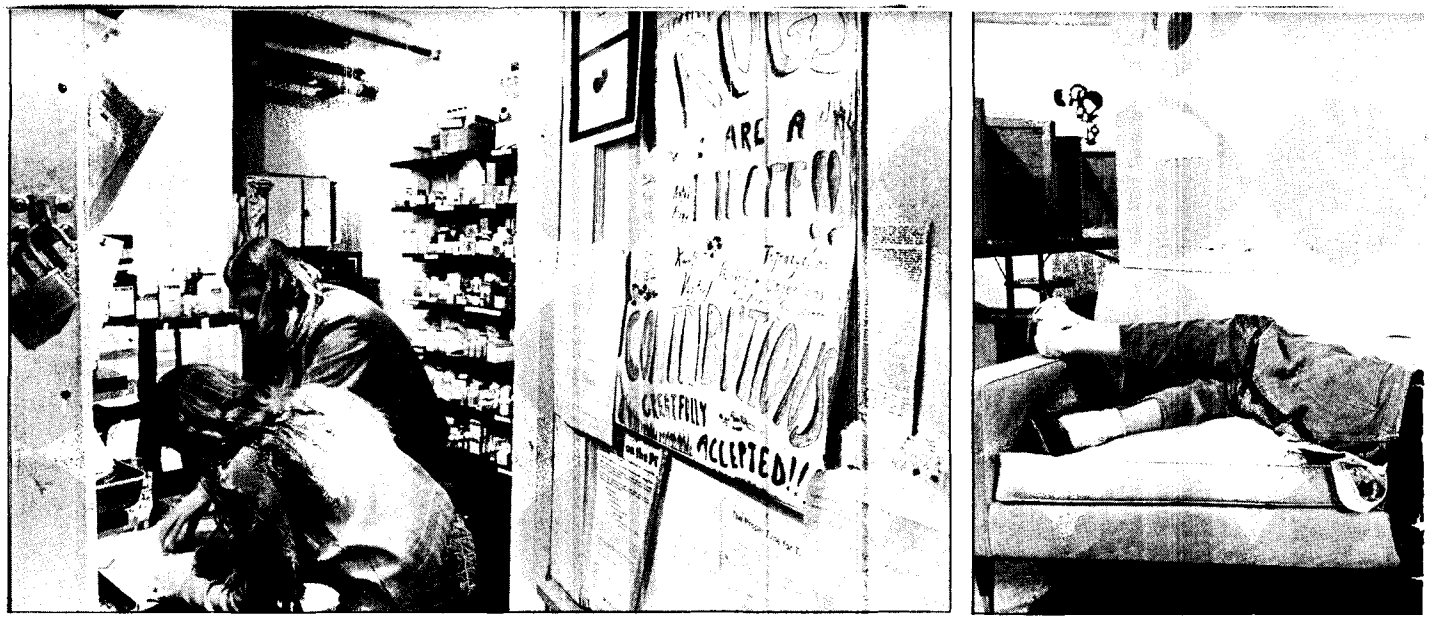

frontation of the doctor occurs. On one occasion, we witnessed a patient advocate challenging a doctor for ordering an unnecessary and expensive laboratory test. On another occasion, the doctor ordered an appropriate battery of tests but was then challenged to figure out a way to obtain the series of tests free since the patient had no money.

In a Chicago clinic, the following interchange took place in front of the entire waiting room full of patients. Medicine was demystified and deprofessionalized in one fell swoop.

Doctor: "I've got a patient who's an alcoholic and who's demanding Librium (a tranquilizer). Other doctors have given it to him, but I'm not sure. What should I do?"

Advocate: "The Patients' Committee will have to set a policy guideline for the treatment of alcoholics with tranquilizers. There's no reason why we can't review the medical literature and make a sound decision. What the hell—when the *New England Journal of Medicine* is confused about an issue, there's no reason why our judgment isn't as good as doctors'. Our discussing the matter in a group is probably more valid than the doctors deciding as individuals what to do."

The advocate is also responsible for ensuring that the patient understands the doctor's recommendations, gets a prescription filled and a follow-up appointment made, if they are called for. In some free clinics, the patient advocates accompany the patients to hospitals, other clinics and emergency rooms.

Unfortunately, the examples described above are more the exception than the rule. Furthermore, the pressure placed on the clinic for immediate services discourages patient advocates from rocking the boat. Some patient advocates became inhibited because they felt that if they acted too forcefully, "the doctors would be antagonized and would be frightened away." The result is that the patient advocates merely serve as expeditors for the more technically skilled professionals. Few clinics or their patient advocates are oriented toward examining—much less challenging—other health services in the community. It would seem that either the patient advocates must break out of this restricted role, or else their position will assume the limitations of a fairly traditional social worker.

[SCOPE OF SERVICES]

MOST FREE CLINICS PROVIDE THE KIND of services that one might find in a neighborhood first aid station, if such things existed. This is consistent with their resources and their patients' demands for stop-gap care. Most clinics services don't extend beyond routine intervention and screening: pregnancy and VD testing, colds, abrasions and minor infections. However, this limited role does not satisfy many clinic progenitors. Just as there is a tug-of-war between seeing a lot of patients and providing quality care, there is a tug-of-war between providing many services and providing a few services well. "We must be a viable alternative. We don't want to be a band-aid to patch up after the health system." One clinic coordinator even hoped that, "This free clinic is the beginning of a community hospital." Free clinics are forced to rely on more limited resources than any other medical institution; yet at the same time, they are attempting to cope with an issue which has been boggling medicine for years: how do you provide comprehensive and unfragmented services on a decentralized basis?

Free clinics are trying different approaches, but none have found solutions they feel are acceptable. In order to move toward comprehensiveness, most clinics are looking for specialists; gynecologists and pediatricians are in great demand. A number have dental chairs, but few have found dentists yet. On the other hand, several clinics have stopped providing services which they found well within their capability to provide. Two clinics have stopped providing birth control because family planning clinics were nearby. "Besides," one said, "if we did birth control, we'd be so flooded we'd never get to anything else." The same reasoning motivated another clinic to stop doing "school physicals."

Most clinics see an urgent need to do more preventive work, saying that their patients are "oriented toward crisis care." They want to "go outside the clinic" with outreach, educational and screening programs. Some have tried anemia, sickle cell and TB testing in their communities, often tying these efforts to some larger community-organizing campaigns. However, given the pressure to serve patients

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coming through the door with immediate needs, most clinics never get outside their walls for very long, if at all. Preventive work is therefore limited to the generally detailed medical history forms which are kept on each patient and the screening tests which are run on all patients. These preventive efforts bear little fruit, however, because on the average less than half of the patients ever return to the clinic. Those who need follow-up work based on the screening must often be referred elsewhere.

Thus, while the clinics dispair of the fragmentation that patients face in the American medical system, they too are caught in the same bind. David Smith, founder of the Haight-Ashbury Free Clinic, asserts that one of the primary functions of free clinics is referral. These are accomplished by the free clinic staff informally rather than through channels. Colleagues and friends in hospitals, health departments, well-baby clinics, etc., are prevailed upon to provide clinic patients with hassle-free service. While a few clinics have set up formal referral arrangements, most find that the informal arm-twisting method meets the clinics' needs: "People in medicine are feeling pretty damn guilty —we usually get what we want."

A lot of clinics attempt to provide services which go beyond traditional medical definitions and speak to broader concepts of health. "Personal health can be defined as the freedom from disease and disability of the individual within the community and the freedom of the individual to live creatively and without oppression as a resident in his or her community," is one of the principles of the People's Health Coalition of Free Clinics in Chicago. Day care is offered in a few clinics; some have clothing exchanges; others provide legal and housing advice; a few have surplus food stuffs to give away or get involved in "people's pantries." One clinic in Minneapolis even provides veterinary services! At a minimum, most clinics having a young patient load offer some sort of counseling.

Many counseling programs are staffed by non-professionals. In general a clinic will offer one-to-one therapy for psychiatric emergencies, but the emphasis is on rap groups. Counseling frequently focuses on drug problems. Clinics have developed expertise in "talking people down from bad trips," and in many cases know a lot more about drugs than the local medical establishments. However, those clinics (with the exception of the Haight-Ashbury Clinic) which have tried to help heroin addicts have given up. "We tried to help people kick but it was impossible. They needed a place to stay, food and a shrink. We couldn't just give them pills to lighten the monkey for a while. We'll help junkies with other problems, but a lot come in here asking for pills; unless they're really in bad shape we don't give them any."

[BREAD]

SINCE CLINICS DEPEND ON VOLUNTEERS and donations of labor and supplies, their budgets are remarkably small. An average budget might be about $30,000. In most cases income is derived from a number of small contributors and fund raising events. Clinics have had bazaars and street fairs and received funds from student activity funds and church groups. At least one free clinic receives a substantial portion of its income from pledges. The Berkeley Free Clinic gets a small but steady part of its income from panhandling.

Some clinics like catch-as-catch-can financing and wouldn't have it any other way. They say they can avoid big contributors; "freedom's just another word for nothing left to lose." Others add that if they weren't forced to rely on volunteers they would lose the good spirit, atmosphere and working relations of the clinic. Some take it even further and see themselves as furthering a counter-culture barter economy: "While we won't accept a fee for service, we do expect patients to 'pay in kind.' Patients contribute their skills—legal, social work, plumbing, painting, etc.—in return for medical service. We work on a sort of informal barter-system."

Some clinics take a harder line on financing. In one clinic, a recent decision was made to have a receptionist ask for $3 donations per visit, rather than have the donations can speak for itself. "If this is going to be a community clinic, the community has to support it."

Other free clinics lean on public agencies, Medicaid and medical institutions for support. The City of Berkeley now helps support three free clinics. The Berkeley Free Clinic

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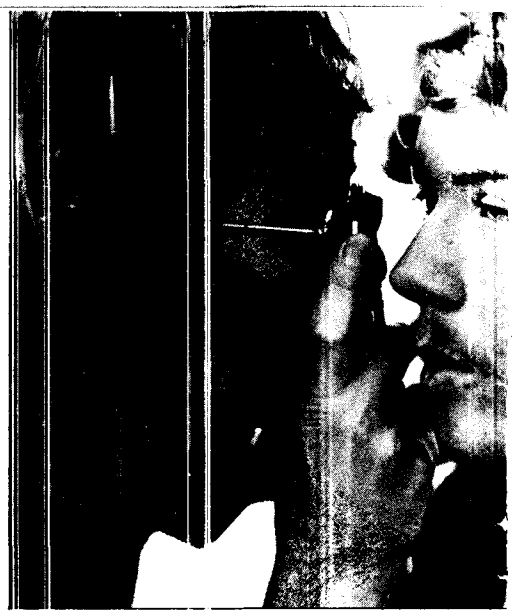

submitted a budget of $29,000 noting that it treats 75 percent of the VD in the city. The Blackman's Free Clinic in San Francisco gets its facility from the Redevelopment Authority. Virtually all free clinics receive penicillin for VD treatment free from city health deparments. (In some instances, city departments have tried to "rip-off" the clinics; in one city the public hospital started referring patients to the free clinic for physicals. In another, the health department ran out of tetracycline for VD and the free clinic had to supply the city.)

In Minneapolis free clinics have charge accounts at either the University of Minnesota Medical School or Hennepin County General Hospital toward which they can charge purchases of laboratory tests, drugs and supplies; they also have arrangements with hospitals and schools for back-up facilities and training programs. In Chicago several clinics, while fighting to survive efforts by the Daley machine to shut them down, managed to use the struggle to win sustained support from the medical schools.

Those clinics which are located in working-class or ghetto neighborhoods also take advantage of Medicaid reimbursements. (The clinics which serve young drop-out populations find that their patients are too mobile and unwilling to go through the hassle of proving Medicaid eligibility to make the effort worth it.) Most of the clinics which actively pursue the Medicaid route get about $50-$60 per week from the effort. Generally, the volunteer doctors will submit the bills for reimbursement to the state as private practitioners and then turn the check over to the clinic.

One clinic decided to take a "principled stand" with the local Medicaid bureaucracy and demanded the right to bill Medicaid directly. It took over a year to win the ensuing fight. Medicaid refused to give them reimbursements if they refused to post a fee schedule in the clinic, arguing that they shouldn't be paid for services which are free. The clinic maintained that they wouldn't compromise the principle that medicine should be free at the point of delivery. Finally the clinic agreed to post a sign stating how much a visit costs the clinic. They then put a statement in their newsletter: "Our services are available free, not because we have lots of money, but because we believe medical care should be free. It should be available to anyone regardless of how much money he or she may have."

Some clinic people plan to parlay third-party payments like Medicaid into major sources of income, rather than the sporadic drips and drabs most clinics now get. One clinic is planning to start a campaign to get Medicaid patients through the doors. "If we can get enough eligible patients in here, we can pay some staff and stay open during the day."

[CONTROL]

FREE CLINICS, BY AND LARGE, ARE struggling to achieve new forms of decision-making against great obstacles. Most clinics are experimenting with variations on community/worker control. Decision-making occurs on many levels throughout the operation of a free clinic. Day-to-day administrative decisions are usually made by paid staff, where they exist, or by the coordinator on duty at the time. Medical decisions, occurring during an evening's clinic, will most often fall upon the doctor. A few clinics have meetings before and after every clinic session attended by all clinic staff. They are used to plan and then review clinic proceedure; discuss medical problems and decisions; and subject individuals to criticism or praise when called for.

Decisions which refer to overall clinic policy are usually handled by a committee. In one form, this committee (frequently known as the Steering or Central Committee) is composed of representatives of each night's clinic, or of each job function (nurse, lab tech, etc.). In those clinics which have strong political ties, decisions which affect the political stance of the clinics are not likely to rest with clinic staff, but will be made by the political group.

Despite medicine's tradition of over-bearing professionalism, there have been few instances of doctor-takeovers or cases of the doctors-versus-everybody-else in free clinics. Only one clinic staffer felt that, "In all honesty, when you really get down to it, the doctors hold the power." In fact, in most clinics, doctors seem to play a disproportionately small role in *formal* decision-making processes. For some, this comes from a highly sensitive consciousness about the pitfalls of professionalism. For others, however, it seems that they don't really care how the clinic is run; or feel that

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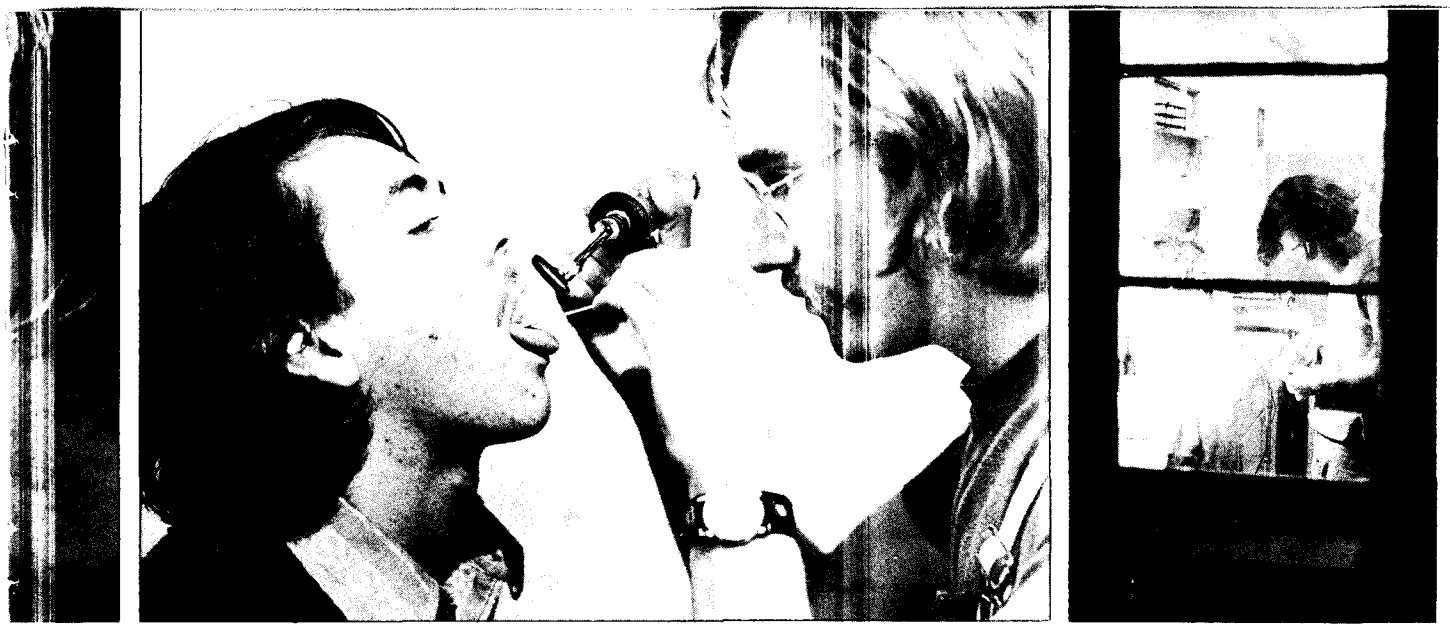

they can't devote the time necessary to become involved in decision-making.

Virtually all clinics emerge from organized community support, or seek it before opening. Several clinics have boards composed of representatives of community organizations. In most, these community affiliations have little to do with the direction of the clinic. Their support and goodwill help identify the clinic with the community. Some clinics have made special efforts—by sponsoring street festivals, currying favor with local merchants, etc.—to become "community institutions." For El Centro de Salud, this really paid off when the landlord attempted to cancel the clinic's lease and several hundred residents demonstrated in front of his place of business. Only one clinic has opened its policy-making up to anyone who attends the monthly clinic meeting. However, despite the fact that community suppers are held prior to the meetings, community attendance has disappointed the clinic staff. In fact for most clinics patient or community control is far more rhetorical than real and far less close to realization than worker control.

Free clinics fit the rhetoric—"do your own thing" and "build alternate institutions." But the very attractiveness of the free clinic movement can disguise the limitations manifest in current free clinic practice.

[POLITICAL EFFECTS]

IN MANY WAYS MOST FREE CLINICS FAIL both patient and worker in not measuring up to their goals. For patients the effect of free clinics, beyond the service provided, appears to be minimal. Most free clinics have not established successful mechanisms for involving patients in the decision-making of the clinic, other than by becoming a worker in the clinic. Likewise, free clinics have not involved patients in struggles around the larger health institutions in the community. The result is that free clinics are limited in their effect on patients to the individual personal encounter at the time of receiving service.

There is more effect on the worker in free clinics than on the patient. The non-professional health worker gains self-confidence, not merely by learning new skills, but also by running a health clinic. Free clinics often do represent experience on the first few rungs of workers' control. Whether this gets translated into the desire to control the dominant health institutions in the community, the hospitals or the health department, is left to chance or circumstance.

To be sure, some health professionals have their eyes opened when they are taken from their secure institutional environment and placed in direct contact with an unfamiliar patient environment. Similar experiences occurred in the Peace Corps and VISTA. But there is no evidence that this awareness leads to commitment, or that it even is an inevitable concommittant of the free clinic experience. Equally common is the observation of one Chicago free clinic coordinator, "Many medical students say they're committed to the community. And to a limited extent they are. But their commitment only goes so far. When they graduate they go work in sunny Arizona. You ask them why they don't intern at Cook County Hospital, they say, 'I can't hack it anymore.' That's how far their commitment to the community goes."

If free clinics have a limited effect on patients and workers, their record in the community is equally disappointing. Free clinics offer real opportunities for community outreach and political education about health systems. They could initiate programs of door-to-door screening for anemia, lead poisoning and tuberculosis. They could indict landlords, city health departments and even medical empires for neglect of these health problems. But few clinics have had the money or manpower, to say nothing of the political analysis, to realize this potential. Free clinics fear being overburdened by the health problems they discover. They do not see outreach as an opportunity to push on the responsibility of the dominant health institutions in the community.

Few clinics have the vision of the Young Patriots Organization in Chicago, which hopes to develop a "health cadre" to provide emergency care, treatment of minor illnesses, and screening services and offer medical advice and assistance on-the-spot in every apartment house in Uptown. As one young Patriot put it, "I can treat 90 percent of the patients walking in the clinic. I can't see why we can't train other community people to do the same. If we find problems we can't deal with, then we'll force the hospitals to help."

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It is an assumption of many free clinic advocates that "Free clinics, as alternate institutions, are threats to the system." But there is a fine line between challenging the health system and actually doing its work. Free clinics actually take the heat off other health institutions by filling the gaps which they have left, while still maintaining the community's ultimate dependence upon local medical institutions. Free clinics admitted they were not hassled by the establishment because they were doing the system's job. This became blatantly obvious to one clinic when a local city hospital began to refer patients to the free clinic for physical examinations.

Another free clinic assumption, "We're free therefore we're political," collapses with more careful examination of the price free clinics pay to remain "free." Most free clinics depend on hospitals, drug companies and city health departments for supplies, manpower and grants. It can become difficult to bite the hand that feeds you. As one clinic spokesman said, "Taking money from the medical school is fine, but what happens next year if after we're dependent on it, the medical school demands we allow our patients to be used as teaching material?" As long as clinics depend on institutions in order to provide their free services, they will be deterred from conflict with the existing health system. As one clinic person said, "If we did our job politically, they'd close us down in a week."

In addition, if free clinics become more effective in community outreach, they will become more desirable plums for the medical institution pie. Free clinics can relate to populations that staid medical institutions find it difficult to accommodate. Thus free clinics may become friendly outposts in the hostile communities that surround many of the major medical institutions in America. So existing medical institutions may have a real interest in free clinics and a desire to incorporate them into their own framework. Perhaps this explains the willingness that an increasing number of medical schools and health departments have demonstrated in supporting free clinics.

[INSTITUTIONAL CONFRONTATION]

PROVIDING SERVICE IS ONE RESPONSE to the failure of the American health system. Institutional confrontation is another, though still somewhat untried, that offers potential to effect far wider change. The power and resources of the American health system lie in institutions. Therefore, changes in institutions have great consequence for the delivery of health care.

The Young Lords Party in New York City decided not to establish any free clinics in El Barrio. Rather they sought to challenge existing health institutions to perform their stated functions. The Lords exposed the Health Department for not using its 40,000 lead poisoning testing kits by demanding that the Health Department release some of the kits for a Young Lord's screening program. In another program, the Lords discovered 800 positive tuberculin cases through door-to-door screening in East Harlem. The next step was to have the people X-rayed. The Lords found that patients had to wait up to 6 hours in the local hospitals just to get a chest X-ray. Few patients could afford to miss a day's work or pay for a baby-sitter. Therefore the Lords asked the Health Department to re-route one of its mobile chest X-ray units to East Harlem to do the necessary testing. When the Health Department refused, the Lords hijacked the truck (with the cooperation of the driver and X-ray technician), brought it to East Harlem and took the necessary X-rays.

Institutional confrontation also has the potential to resolve many of the contradictions that presently abound in free clinics. It unites the disparate forces that relate to free clinics. Patients can become involved with the free clinic around its struggle with other health institutions. Health workers can connect their free clinic work with struggles in the institutions where they train and work. Institutional confrontation brings new problems to free clinics, but helps resolve many of the old ones.

Several of the free clinics in Chicago have adopted this approach, both out of choice and necessity. Their early requests for back-up services and specialty consultation developed into confrontation situations. At Weiss Hospital, located in the same neighborhood as the Young Patriots Clinic, there was considerable resistance to developing a relationship to the free clinic. Several demonstrations were necessary to convince the hospital that it should accede to community requests. At Northwestern Medical Center, the path was paved by the active support of medical and nursing students in coalition with hospital workers. Many of these students and health workers also worked in the Latin American Defense Organization (LADO) free clinic, located in a Latin American neighborhood on Chicago's north side. The students had pressed their own demands for minority admissions and improvement in the outpatient clinics through a 24-hour sit-in in the dean's office, prior to LADO's demand for a contract with Northwestern. This history facilitated LADO's negotiations with the medical center.

The Chicago free clinics maintain a constant barrage of criticism aimed at the health establishment. Hospitals that fail to deliver services are challenged. Free clinics are the base from which activists attack institutions. The mimeograph machine is as important as the stethoscope. Besides maintaining a high level of institutional confrontation, many of the Chicago free clinics have encouraged professionals that work in the clinics to organize in their own hospitals as well.

The Chicago free clinics have seen themselves as more than alternate institutions. They have seen the necessity and used their opportunities for institutional confrontation. Unless other free clinics adopt this course, they will either wither and die or become incorporated into the established health delivery system.

Constance Bloomfield and Howard Levy are members of the Health Policy Advisory Center, Inc. (HEALTH/PAC), an educational and research collective in New York City. The monthly (HEALTH/PAC) Bulletin *is devoted to analyzing heath policy issues and may be obtained for $7 per year ($5 student rate) from HEALTH/PAC, 17 Murray Street, New York, N. Y. 10007.*

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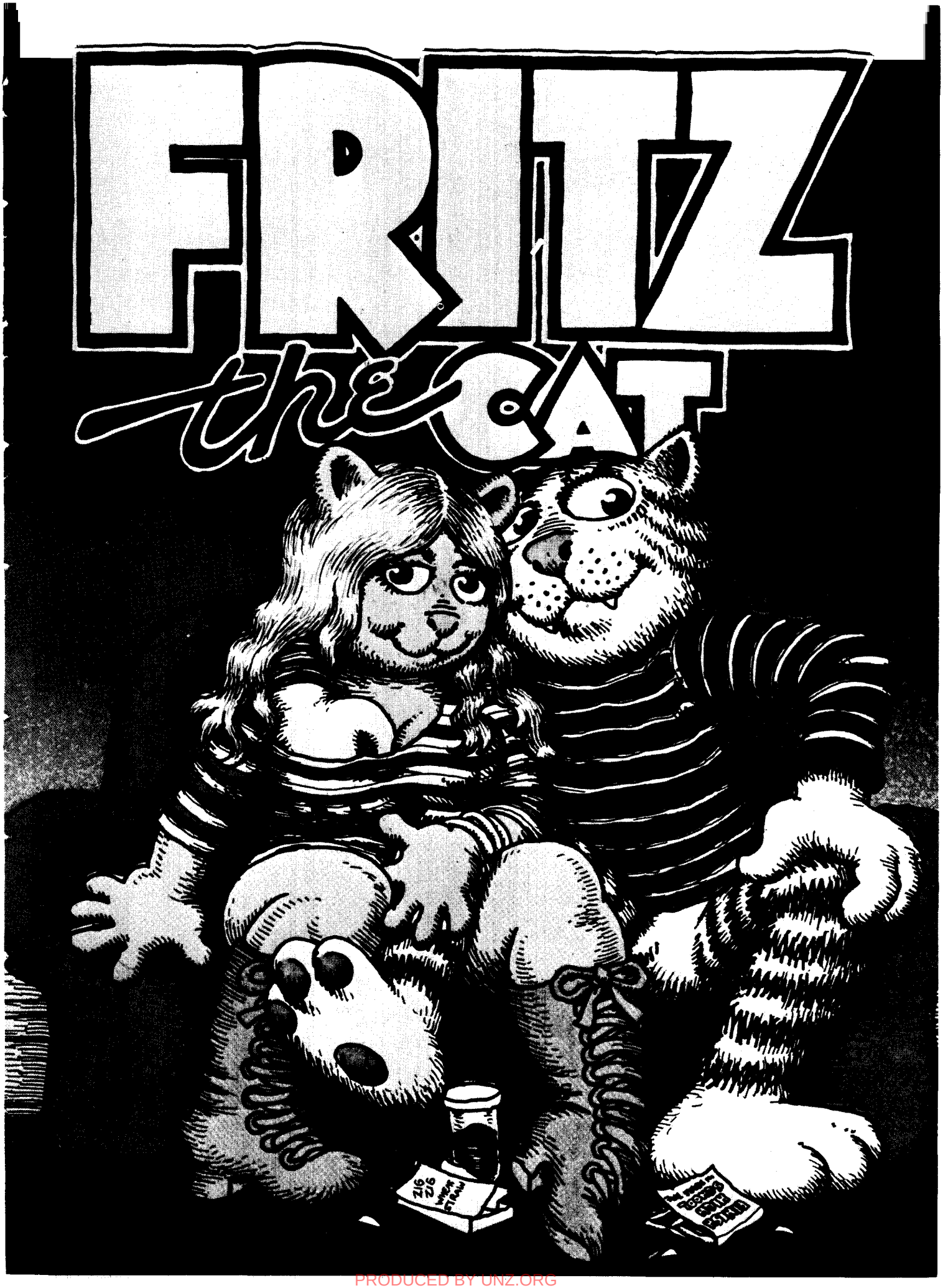

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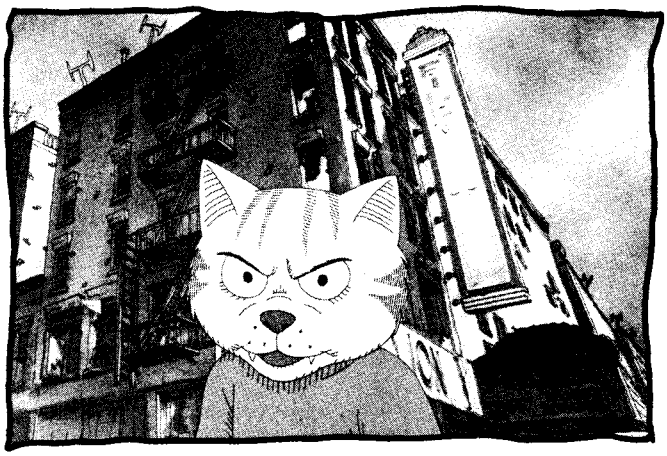
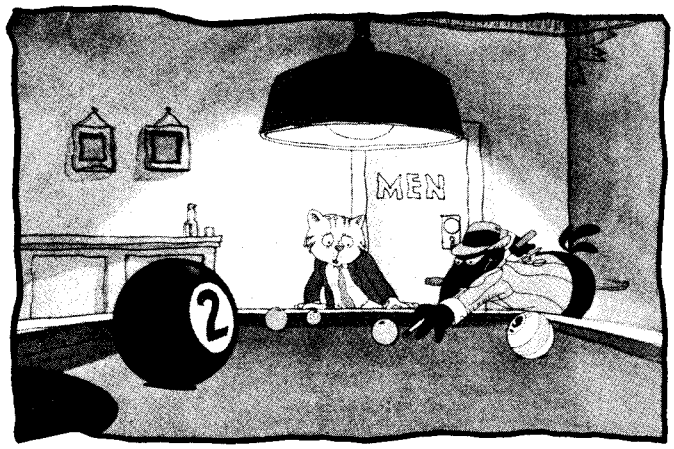
"'Fritz is so goddamn phony we had to hire an actor to do his dialogue,' says Bakshi. 'I tried using a phony kid from Washington Square, somebody like Fritz, but even he sounded too sincere.' Fritz is a phony student, a phony dropout, a phony poet, a phony liberal, a phony black sympathizer, a phony romantic, a phony revolutionary, and even a phony lover. Like so many others of the late '60s, Fritz dropped out, turned on, and tuned in to a life-style that made use of romantic, revolutionary rhetoric to camouflage an...undirected libido.

"All Fritz really wants to do is get laid...if the truth were to be told, that object was probably uppermost in the collective so-called mind of half the so-called 'counter-culture' in the late '60s. And maybe still."





IT WAS BOUND TO HAPPEN. Anybody a few bricks short could have predicted it.

Nobody did.

The "comix," the counter-cultural alternative to "comics," at least seemed to be securely underground. Despite the wide range in vision and subject matter—from Clay Wilson's violent, sex-crazed bikers to Rory Hayes' primitive, often surreal, bathroom drawings of genitals or the happy-go-lucky world of Shelton's lovable Furry Freaks and R. Crumb's funky satire—the bulk of the early comix, and particularly *Snatch,* were just too filthy and vile and violent and weird to ever surface above the counter top. When *Snatch* comix was busted in Berkeley in November 1969, the assistant DA plumbed the depths of histrionic courtroom rhetoric in his effort to get a conviction: "THIS IS FILTH. THIS IS OBSCENE. THIS IS GARBAGE!" he raved. Though the Berkeley jury found the alleged smut-peddlers "not guilty," the comix continued to be sold clandestinely since most newsstands and bookshops refused to display them. And, of course, dating from the time of the bust, copies of *Snatch* became genuine underground treasures.

It was about that time that Steve Krantz, a New York producer of some *Spiderman* cartoons and assorted educational films for Encyclopedia Brittannica, decided to open up the animation field and make a lot of money by producing an adult cartoon. He had hired a young man named Ralph Bakshi away from the animation department of Paramount, and together they went after the film rights to *Annie Fanny,* the then popular strip running in Playboy. Unable to secure the rights, they looked elsewhere. Bakshi picked up a copy of Robert Crumb's 1969 edition of *Fritz The Cat,* published by Bill Cole, and decided that was it. He had to have it. "For ten years," said Bakshi, "I'd been turning out kid's stuff for Paramount and CBS and then going home and doing my own weird stuff. Then I saw this stuff by Crumb. It was what I'd always wanted to do. So I found Crumb in New York and we talked about it and I showed him some drawings, and finally, after the fourth pizza, he said OK." Crumb was paid a $7000 advance plus, according to Krantz, "a very substantial percentage of the net."

Crumb tells the story a little differently: "They called me up here (in Cupertino, California from New York and

by Jon Stewart

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said, 'Hey, we got this great thing. We're gonna do an animated cartoon of *Fritz The Cat,* and blah, blah. Why don't you come to New York and help us work on it. We'll pay your way.' So I get to New York and Ralph Bakshi showed me all this stuff they'd already done before they told me about it. So I was in this quandary for days, you know, just walking around New York trying to decide what to do about it. Bakshi was so enthusiastic about it. He said his whole career was at stake, and like it was just what he'd always wanted to do, and so I felt that if I didn't let him do it I was gonna be like a really mean guy, you know. I didn't think the guys really were capable of it. And at the same time I was afraid that if I let them do it I was gonna be involved in it whether I wanted to or not. Anyway, they kept after me and I finally said, 'OK, they want to do it worse than I don't want them to.' "

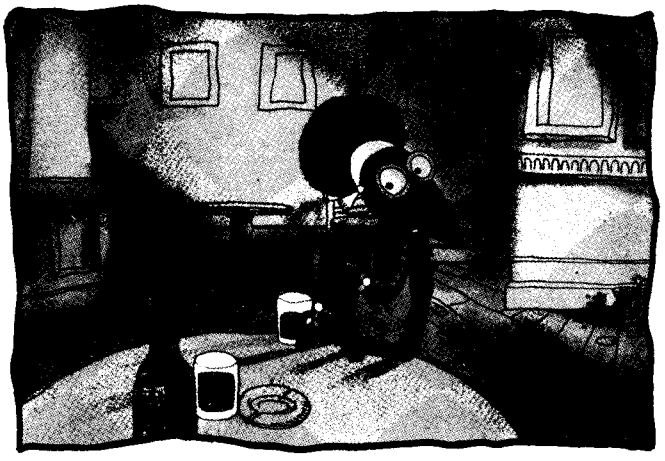
So, two years and one cool million later, Steve Krantz was sitting in his newly established Hollywood office, just two blocks off the "sidewalk of the stars," and going through the P.R. motions for the February 1 release of his 90-minute feature cartoon, *Fritz The Cat.* "The owner of *Annie Fanny* came back to us with an offer after we'd

bought *Fritz,*" Krantz recalls. "We told them we weren't interested. Who needs *Annie Fanny*?"

KRANTZ HAD GOOD REASON TO FEEL confident, even proud. Though he has had little to do with the actual making of the film, he had managed to raise a million dollars at a time when the idea of an animated *Fritz* must have sounded like a bad joke to financial promoters. "It was like walking miles on broken glass," recalls Krantz. He had also managed to talk Cinemation into distributing the film, assuring it wide coverage. And most impressively, he had survived through two years of anxiety and frustration and doubt, when Bakshi was really the only man who knew what was going on.

Ralph Bakshi probably deserves an Oscar for his work on *Fritz,* but just as probably he won't get it. It's unlikely that the Hollywood establishment is ready for aardvarks balling rabbits. What Crumb had done for the revival of the art and industry of the comic book, Bakshi may be accomplishing for the animated cartoon. Despite the "X" rating it has received, *Fritz* promises to launch a whole new era for the tired and withering art of animation, even as dear Uncle Walt (God bless his celluloid soul) tumbles over in his grave.

Bakshi's *Fritz* is loosely based on about three-and-a-half strips from Crumb's 1969 comic book. Needless to say, the subject matter and language are revolutionary to the realm of animation. Fritz is a student at NYU who perceives that academics are a deadly waste of time, and that he should be out living his life to its fullest—meaning hustling girls. In the course of the action, he participates in an orgy in a bathtub with assorted other animals, gets chased into a synagogue by two cops (pigs, of course), escapes back to his room believing himself a fugitive, burns his study notes and the rest of the university in the process, and flees again. He heads north to Harlem, "to experience." There he meets Duke (a black crow) in a bar and lays down some white liberal platitudes, like "My heart cries out to you in this racial crisis." "No shit," replies Duke. Together they steal a car, which the fugitive Fritz crashes, only to be rescued by Duke. In Harlem, they go to a party at Big Bertha's pad where Fritz is introduced to grass for the first time. He gets stoned and grabs for Big Bertha's big bosoms, and they end up in a junkyard



copulating amidst the debris.

Before completely satisfying Big Bertha, Fritz gets the notion that now, having balled a black crow, he understands the black anguish. He mounts a car top and begins lecturing to a group of crows about their responsibility to rise up against their white oppressor. A riot ensues, the pigs arrive, and Duke is killed in the act of saving Fritz's striped hide.

Fritz splits Harlem and looks up his old alley cat gal, Winston, a bossy she-cat. Together they take off in Winston's VW for "the coast." Fritz imagines that life on the road will be romantic and full of adventure and poetry. Instead, Winston bitches and yowls and eats at Howard Johnson's. When they run out of gas, Fritz takes off with a bucket to hitch to the nearest town. He meets up with a gang of Hell's Angels, who convince him to join them and help in their mission to bring down America. The first plan is to blow up a power plant, but when Harriet, one of the biker's old ladies, is beaten and raped, Fritz turns sour on the Angels. He has fallen in love with Harriet.

On the night of the bombing, Fritz and a gal biker arrive at the power plant. Fritz decides that the violence

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trip is too heavy, and wants to back out. His co-conspirator decides that Fritz must be offed, and she orders him to place the dynamite behind a girder. As he follows her instructions, she ignites the fuse and: "So long Fritz baby!" Fritz and the power plant go up together.

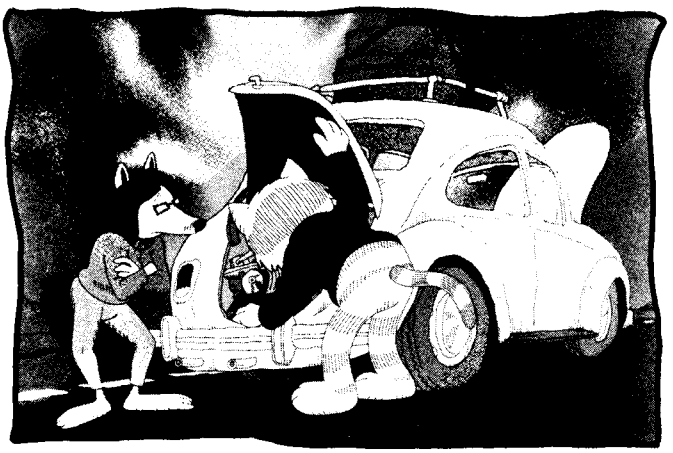
In the final scenes, Fritz lays swathed in bandages in a hospital bed. The gals from the bathtub orgy scene persuade the pig in the hall to let them in to see Fritz in his dying moments. Fritz painfully begins a solemn confessional, gradually inducing each girl to come closer. Finally, the dialogue gives way to a replay of the bathtub scene, and as Fritz coaches each girl in various positions of undress, his bandages miraculously unswirl. The girls end up on the bed, bouncing up and down to a background of heavy breathing, while the scene fades into slow motion and a freeze.

BAKSHI/CRUMB'S SATIRICAL INTENTIONS need little comment. The barbs are aimed directly at the white, liberal, college-dropout turned revolutionary womanizer. "Fritz is so goddamn phony we had to hire a real actor to do his dialogue," says Bakshi.

"I tried using a phony kid from Washington Square, somebody like Fritz, but even he sounded too sincere." Fritz is a phony student, a phony dropout, a phony poet, a phony liberal, a phony black sympathizer, a phony romantic, a phony revolutionary, and even a phony lover. Like so many others of the late '60s, Fritz dropped out, turned on and tuned in to a life-style that made use of romantic, revolutionary rhetoric to camouflage an essentially undisciplined, undirected libido. All Fritz really wants to do is get laid. And if the truth were to be told, that object was probably uppermost in the collective so-called mind of half the so-called "counter-culture" in the late '60s. And maybe still.

Of course, it's one thing to acknowledge that fact today, and quite a greater thing to have perceived it and built a mature cartoon character around the perception three or four years ago. Crumb is to the hip movement what Feiffer was to the beat: always a few steps ahead of the chorus, with one of his several selves peeking out from behind the wings jotting critical notes. The film barely interests him. "I saw a few minutes of it several months ago," said Crumb, before the completion of the project. "From what I saw, it seemed fair. I hope it's good."

Crumb's immediate concern was to emphasize that the film was not his project, and that he'd had nothing to do with it, aside from creating the original comic book material. "What bothers me is that when it comes out, everybody's going to think I did it," he complained. "Either way —whether it's good or bad—I'm going to hear about it. They're going to be pestering me about it. It's such a big-time mass-media hype. I'm probably going to be bombarded by all kinds of bullshit." Crumb is legendary for his J. D. Salinger-like reclusiveness and reluctance to grant interviews. Several years ago, when culture-watchers first started calling him "the guru of underground comix," he split San Francisco (which happens to be the home of virtually every major comix artist in the world!) and moved with his wife to the village of Cupertino, 45 miles from San Francisco. There he works undisturbed, since he occasionally changes his unlisted phone number, and makes frequent jaunts down to the city to visit his friends and co-conspirators from the days of *Zap*. He is skinny, bespectacled, hunched; not unlike some of his own humanoid characters. And he's quiet and serious. And he's funny.



If Crumb looks like a character from his own cartoons, then Krantz belongs in *Annie Fanny*: slick, dapperly mod, well-poised, slightly greying; or, as Crumb describes him, "a New York Capitalist." The third character in the unlikely alliance behind *Fritz,* Ralph Bakshi, writer, director and chief animator, is straight from the frames of Gilbert Shelton's underground strip, *Fabulous Furry Freak Brothers*. Hustling around the expansive suite of offices and studios on Sunset Boulevard, he might be mistaken for an aging delivery boy: pudgy, bulbous-nosed, long-haired, and dressed in levis and chambray shirt. He moves and talks as though propelled by some unending source of energy, and for the past two years he has been single-mindedly, obsessively occupied with *Fritz*.

"I guess I've blown up more mice in more different ways than the average guy can imagine," boasts Bakshi, referring to his years as studio head of animation at Paramount. "I mean those years were so horrible. I hated turning out all that crap. I hated the work; I hated the people; I hated myself sometimes for doing it. But thank God I did. I was hired right out of high school, and I learned animation from the top to the bottom, every aspect. I couldn't possibly

Illustrations courtesy of Steve Krantz Productions

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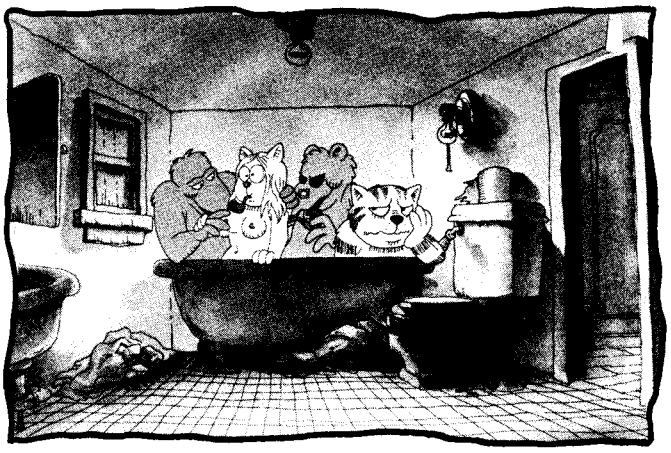
have done *Fritz* without that background."

Animation—*real* animation—is, as Bakshi demonstrated, an incredibly complex, painstaking, expensive process. "For instance," he says, "in live-action film you can have four people sitting around a table talking and drinking. You coach the actors on the dialogue and the manner of movement and mood, and they take over: they scratch their head, wipe their nose, twiddle their fingers, flick ash from their cigarettes, shift around in their seats. They're constantly alive and moving, even if the gestures are very small and hardly perceptible. But with animation somebody has to dream up every single movement and then draw it in. And if you want realistic action, then the background to the main action has to be full of life. That means an infinite amount of little, barely noticeable detail."

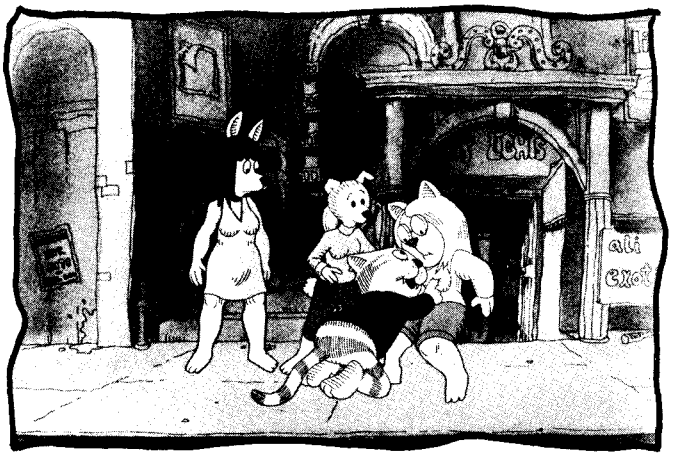
Then there are the mathematical problems: "Say Fritz is coming across a big bridge in a car. The picture shows the car moving toward you, with the vertical suspension cables disappearing in the receding background. Now you have to figure out just how fast those cables should recede relative to the speed of the car. Jesus, animation is just full of problems like that—goddamn little details that have to be worked out."



The problems, relative to *Fritz,* have been compounded by the fact that the film is *fully* animated, meaning that every movement on the screen is rendered through a complete set of drawings. It is a technique that is rarely used today by the major animation studios, who prefer to cut corners and expenses by reducing the number of drawings for any given action, resulting in a slightly jerky motion and a one-dimensional plane of movement. The decision to go with full animation meant hiring a large staff of animators and technicians, and required the two-year block of time. "But I had to do it that way," said Bakshi. "Crumb's are full characters, man."

The production staff has ranged from as high as 75 to as low as 25 in the final weeks, with as many as 50 animators working on the film, plus colorists, artists, photographers, musicians and sound technicians. Four animators quit during the production, refusing to draw certain characterizations, such as blacks as crows, cops as pigs, and a Hell's Angel as a rabbit. "Sometimes I'd have to lean on some guy who's been doing animation for Disney or somebody for 30 years and tell him to pinch a chick's tit a little harder," recalled Bakshi, "and some of them would just throw their hands in the air and walk out." The reactions to the project from the major studios have been cool, but one official at Disney, who preferred to remain anonymous, issued a chilling public statement which he followed up with a personal commendation, saying he only wished that he could work on such a project.

Bakshi has employed two relatively innovative techniques to *Fritz* which especially distinguish the film. First, and most impressively, his colorful, impressionistic backgrounds are based on actual photographs of street scenes in the East Village and in Harlem. The photos, which he took himself, were enlarged and then covered with plastic transparencies onto which the outline and gross details were traced. It is then transferred to paper and handed to the color artists for watercoloring. The process is both economic (it saves the labor of background artists) and visually effective. The New York scenes of tenements and alleys and bars and junk cars evoke a naturalistic impression of the city that is often more accurate than the original photographs. "I've always been an admirer of the Ashcan school of painting," says Bakshi. Color is used with dazzling effects, as when the sky over Harlem explodes in red during the riot scene. The angles of vision and panoramic zooms are so eerily real as to suggest that the film is really a fluid painting and not a cartoon at all. Cartoons just don't look like that. The backgrounds have *texture* and *depth,* qualities contradictory to the standard definition of "cartoon." In short, the film is a visual feast.



The other significant innovation which Bakshi brings to the film is the use of realistic, "non-cartooned" voices. As already mentioned, Fritz's voice is the only one done by a professional actor. The rest of the dialogue was taken, as often as possible, from real "in-the-street" situations. To do a two-minute rap session among hard-hats on a lunch break, Bakshi gathered up four hard-hats in a bar and prodded them in a general direction of conversation while recording the entire session. The resulting dialogue, synced into the mouths of the caricatures, is better than anything he could have written. He did the same in black Harlem bars for the sequences there. The synagogue sequence, during which old Jews and Rabbis chant and read from the Torah, was recorded in a New York synagogue while old Jews and Rabbis chanted and read from the Torah. The bathtub scene, in

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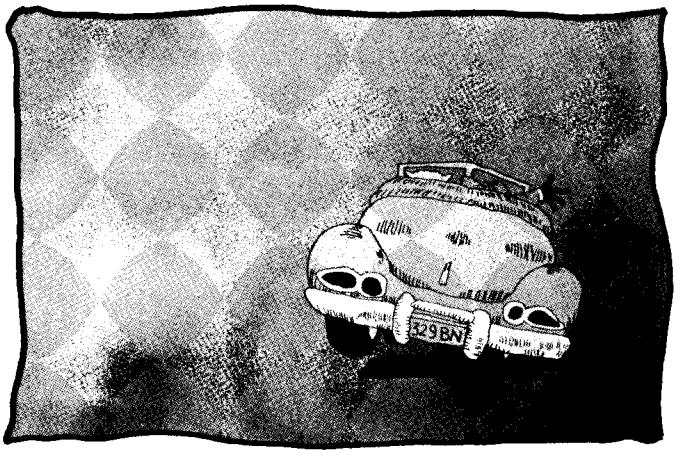
which three young, nubile, slightly stupid Greenwich Village girls giggle and carry on was recorded at a small, pre-arranged party with three young, nubile, slightly stupid Greenwich Village girls. And that's what it sounds like—real. The Hell's Angel was a real Hell's Angel. The veteran cop was a friend of Bakshi's "who had always wanted to be a cop." The rookie cop is Bakshi.

The music is mostly originally composed rock, interspersed with some jazz and a Billie Holliday recording of "It's Wonderful" during the sequence in which Fritz fucks Big Bertha in the junkyard. The music over the Harlem bar sequence is B. B. King. (When I saw the film, the music soundtrack hadn't yet been added.)

The original elements of Bakshi's *Fritz*—some characters, some situations and dialogue, as well as the visual composition (which is considerably more refined and eventful than Crumb's original, rather rough, black-and-white drawings) —testify to the fact that Bakshi is himself an artist with an original vision and a mastery of technique. There is never any doubt that an artist with a unique personality has reworked Crumb's material. Bakshi is ever evident in the work. But incredibly, Bakshi's additions and refinements



have not detracted from the fact that the guiding force behind the entire project is Robert Crumb. Bakshi's loyalty to Crumb goes well beyond the mere requirements of pissing and fucking and swearing (which earned the film its "X" rating and thereby threatens its commercal success). Bakshi really seems to understand Crumb in an uncanny way. The funkiness, the degree of satire—never spilling into scorn—and the essentially farcical view of the human condition are ever with the film, as they are with Crumb's strips. Bakshi gets very reverential when he talks about Crumb. "Jesus, I hope he'll like it," he says, and he means it, as a student trying to please an idolized teacher.

Bakshi's next projects, already in the planning stages, will free him from the rigid requirements of working within another artist's vision. He will be able to create his own characters and his own situations and dialogue based on his own Brooklyn boyhood experiences—and Hubert Selby's book *Last Exit To Brooklyn*.

What! A cartoon version of *Last Exit To Brooklyn?* That bleak, violent, depressing, sexual survey of life among the animals? "Why not," answers Bakshi, "a rock version of an animals' group therapy session." The feature will be entitled *Heavy Traffic,* and will also be produced by Steve Krantz Productions. Beyond that, Bakshi plans to do *Arrivederci Rudi,* an animated biography of Valentino and the Hollywood of old, and *Dick Tracy, Frozen, Fried, and Buried Alive,* set in the 1930s. That should keep him busy well into middle age.

If *Fritz* is commercially successful—and present indications suggest that it will be, despite the "X"—we may look for a plethora of "adult," "socially significant" cartoons to follow. Where the Beatle's animated *Yellow Submarine* broke the ice for the present generation to experiment visually with the cartoon, *Fritz* takes the experiment several steps beyond the visual, and also opens up the form to new, revolutionary subject matter, primarily sex and politics. It is obvious after seeing the film that sex in a cartoon is not particularly erotic or suggestive; it's simply fun and funny, and not even that if the blatantly sexist vision of comix artists revolts your sensibilities. But politics and social criticism seem to be institutions designed expressly for the exercise of the cartoonist's imagination. The absurdities of the human social and political condition have long been the stuff of which great newspaper cartoons are made. To carry the process into feature-length animation is only a logical step which the present time has made propitious. Of course, if Hollywood lives up to its reputation, there will be a dozen shoddy, cheap, half-assed imitations for every *Fritz*.

The comix artists, who were the poster artists of five years ago, until the mass media made the poster obsolete through over-exposure and congressional approval, may suddenly find themselves among the darlings of Hollywood. Fritz may get himself a sidewalk tile of his own along Hollywood Boulevard, and maybe someday the Furry Freak Brothers will plant their feet in the cement in front of Grauman's. And even, God forbid, the day may come when Clay Wilson's rank, sex-obsessed bikers will be honored by the Academy. The worst and the best always end up in Hollywood, and the rest of us can only hope that somebody down there will be capable of telling one from the other.

Jon Stewart is a free lance writer in the San Francisco Bay area.

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Oops!...

The Story of Nuclear Power Plants

SHORTLY AFTER NOON ON SEPTEMBER 26, 1971, "The Spirit of 76" slipped down out of the southeastern Washington sky and landed at the Walla Walla airport. It taxied to a stop and Richard M. Nixon, Atomic Energy Commission Chairman James Schlesinger and various aides climbed out of the Presidential jet and into a waiting helicopter that would take them to the AEC's Hanford reservation. Once this 200 square mile site had been an atomic citadel with eight prosperous plutonium reactors, laboratories, test facilities and a nuclear disposal site. But the AEC had consolidated much of its atomic bomb business elsewhere, and in January the AEC had even announced a plan to shut down Hanford's last two operating plutonium reactors. At the behest of Senator Henry M. Jackson and other Washington politicians, Nixon ordered that one of the facilities, known as the N reactor, remain in operation.

One thousand jobs had been saved and the people of Hanford gratefully turned out *en masse* to give the President an enthusiastic welcome. Nixon understood this and yet when he addressed the vast crowd not a word was mentioned about the N reactor. It was just as well, for the continued operation of this, the nation's largest nuclear power plant, impugned the AEC's integrity. The reactor was originally designed to produce plutonium for nuclear weapons; but by 1971 the military didn't need its plutonium any more. It had all it needed from other AEC reactors in South Carolina. The alternative was to let the Washington Public Power Supply System use the reactor for power generation. The agency could not permit this because the AEC designers had built the reactor without a number of the vital safety features that AEC regulatory officials insist must be a part of nuclear reactors built and operated by commercial utilities. Agency experts figured it would cost millions to bring the reactor up to the AEC's own standards.

Nixon's nuclear advisors had also warned in secret reports that the plant was "unreliable and a possible safety hazard." During 1970 the reactor produced power only 42 percent of the time. And in September 1970 N reactor operators decided to shut the unit down when they noticed overheating in one of the fuel channels. Shutdown is normally accomplished by inserting a network of 87 control rods into the reactor, which absorb neutrons and stop the nuclear chain reaction. But when the appropriate button was pushed, all 87 rods failed to drop into the reactor. Only emergency insertion of a network of neutron-moderating boron balls managed to stop the reactor.

But there were the jobs to consider. And the President noted that just because the plant didn't meet the AEC's safety standards didn't mean the AEC couldn't operate it. After all, this was an AEC plant on AEC land, so it didn't necessarily fall within AEC standards. Just because the AEC made everyone else in the utility business live up to its standards didn't mean that the AEC had to.

All in all the President had been very good to the nuclear energy business in the midst of these trying times and increased criticism from ecologists. With vast federal subsidies in the form of research, uranium price supports, special exemptions from liability for atomic power plant accidents, nuclear waste disposal sites, and a vigorous national publicity campaign, the AEC had persuaded the utility industry to buy 126 nuclear reactors. By 1971 some 22 of these uranium-fueled, light water reactors were operable, 55 were being built and 49 were planned. By the end of the century the AEC envisioned 950 nuclear power plants supplying half the nation's electricity.

But there are some things even beyond Presidential control. The past few years had been punctuated by dramatic reverses in the AEC's projected imperium: fires, spills, leaks, design failures, earthquakes, environmental reviews and adverse court rulings had combined to cause construction delays, reactor shutdowns and power shortages. Half a dozen reactors had been permanently closed. Installed nuclear capacity was years behind schedule and the loss to the utilities was in the hundreds of millions. When the AEC and a Minnesota power cooperative gave up on a balky Elk River, Minnesota reactor, for instance, the loss was over $13 million. In the New York area nuclear reactor construction delays were directly responsible for summertime brownouts. Reactor manufacturers were being sued by utilities, the utilities were being sued by environmentalists, and everyone on both sides was assailing the AEC. Meanwhile the high-grade uranium ore necessary to fuel the light-water reactors was expected to run out within 20 to 30 years. Then what would the power companies do?

Given this failure of nuclear power to meet expectations, one might expect the companies and the government to speed up the search for alternate energy sources such as solar, geothermal or tidal power. But the nuclear-industrial complex was not about to abandon its dream of propelling America on nuclear power by the 21st century. It just redoubled its efforts, knowing that the disappointing performance by the first generation light-water nuclear reactors meant it had to come up with something new. By June 1971 the President told the nation he was initiating a $3 billion federal program to develop a second generation of nuclear reactors called the fast breeder. The key advantage of this reactor was that it actually produced more fuel than it consumed. Nixon predicted that by 1980 the new fast breeders would "move this nation into an era of plentiful, clean and safe atomic power."

The program was to start with federal construction of two demonstration breeders. But curious citizens did not have to wait for their construction to catch a glimpse of breeder

by Roger Rapoport

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power. There was already a major fast breeder in the Enrico Fermi plant at Monroe, Michigan, and this facility had demonstrated that breeder power was frightfully expensive, unreliable and dangerous. The AEC had licensed construction of the plant in 1956 over the objections of its own advisory commission on reactor safeguards. Even though AEC Chairman Lewis Strauss admitted that "this fast breeder was the most hazardous of all reactors," lawsuits to block construction failed. Over $120 million was poured into the facility, and it generated only $303,000 worth of electricity and no fuel. In 1966 an accidental meltdown of the reactor core nearly blew the plant up. A University of Michigan study later calculated radiation released by such an explosion could have killed as many as 133,000 people. By the time of Nixon's Hanford speech, the star-crossed Fermi reactor was producing no appreciable power and operating as an experimental reactor. A fossil fuel plant had been built to supplement it.

HOW COULD THE PRESIDENT JUSTIFY going ahead with more breeders in light of Fermi's sorry precedent? He couldn't, so instead he used his Hanford speech to laud his own decision to push ahead on breeder technology and then told his audience: "Don't ask me what a breeder reactor is; ask Dr. Schlesinger. But tell him not to tell you, because unless you are one of those Ph.D.'s you wouldn't understand it either, but I do know that here we have the potentiality of a whole new breakthrough in the development of power for peace. That means jobs—jobs for this area, and jobs and power for hundreds of millions of people all over the world." Nixon went on to explain, "All of this business about breeder reactors and nuclear energy is over my head. That was one of my poorest subjects, science. I got through it, but I had to work too hard. I gave it up when I was a sophomore. But it always has been fascinating to me because it seems to me that if a people are to be a great people, we must always explore the unknown. We must never be afraid of it. . . . I live, as you know, in California, down in San Clemente. Right next to us, within a couple of miles, is one of the new nuclear power plants. Many are afraid to live there because they fear what could happen with regard to that peaceful nuclear power plant. I am not afraid to live there. I am not afraid, not because I know much about it, but because what I do know tells me that here we have a new source of energy . . . that is absolutely important to the future of the world."

Just in case anyone remained unconvinced about atomic reactors, the reactor manufacturers, utilities and AEC were spending tens of millions on advertising, nuclear information centers and traveling roadshows to bring the point home. One widely used national magazine ad sponsored by the utilities noted that the Western White House was just 4400 yards from the San Onofre nuclear plant: "It was built and is being operated well within the strict regulations of the AEC. . . . The Nixons enjoy the same safety precautions as anyone else living near any nuclear power plant in this country." The ad itemized the manifold precautions taken by the AEC in the approval of construction plans, and noted that all radiation protection standards are established with the advice of the august National Council on Radiation Protection and Measurement (NCRP): "The result of all this regulation and continual investigation is that nuclear power plants are probably the most carefully studied and rigidly supervised industry in this country. Perhaps the safest in the history of technology."

On the surface, it sounds impressive enough. But perhaps the copywriter at the N. W. Ayer agency who wrote this ad had never heard about the time the AEC overruled its Advisory Committee on Reactor Safeguards to build the Fermi reactor. Perhaps he didn't know that the public hearings were a nuclear kangaroo court run by and for the AEC. The impartiality of the NCRP is also open to question since nearly half of the 64 members receive employment or research grants from the AEC, Pentagon, Westinghouse or General Electric (the two major manufacturers of reactors).

The ad said "many renowned scientific thinkers" are on the NCRP. One of them is Dr. Eugene Saenger, the subject of an investigation by Senator Edward Kennedy's Health Subcommittee. Over the past twelve years Dr. Saenger has exposed 111 terminal cancer patients to large doses of whole or partial body radiation. The subjects were told the exposure was therapy. They were not told the work was being funded by the Pentagon to calculate the combat effectiveness of soldiers exposed to this kind of radiation during nuclear war. This sort of radiation exposure is not a generally accepted method of treatment for cancerous tumors. And Dr. Saenger never bothered to set up a control group to assess the effect of this radiation. Of the original 81 subjects used by Dr. Saenger, only 6 survived. A check of the distribution list for his report showed that it was going to scores of military agencies. Senator Mike Gravel (D-Alaska) was suggesting the possibility of terminating the Pentagon grant that had given Saenger over $850,000. But all the while the Cincinnati physician defended the NCRP work on radiation protection standards by pointing out: "What is good for radiation is good for the country."

* * *

THE SAN ONOFRE PLANT, WHICH IS 80 percent owned by Southern California Edison and 20 percent owned by San Diego Gas and Electric, sits in a man-made hollow carved out of a Pacific Coast cliff wall four miles below San Clemente. Every day hundreds of visitors are taken through a nuclear information center that overlooks the plant. Edison men, aided by films, charts and models, tell how "nuclear plants are a safe, sensible way to generate electricity." No one sees a copy of the plant's radiological emergency plan which says, "In the event of any emergency condition involving potential hazard to Visitors Center personnel, the director of the Visitors Center shall be notified immediately in order that orderly evacuation of the public may be accomplished." Nor are they told about the loud speaker system designed to evacuate surfers and bathers "in the event of potential contamination of the beach and ocean area," Depending on the winds at the time of a major accident, that evacuation area could embrace the Western White House. An AEC analysis shows that a blow-up of a plant roughly one third the size of San Onofre could kill 3400, injure 43,000 and do $7 billion property damage.

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The school kids, Rotarians, and tourists at the Visitor Center aren't told about the plant's operating history: A broken timer relay, replacement of 800 turbine blades, leaks in valves and steam lines, and electrical foulups shut the reactor down six times during the initial six months of operations. On February 7, 1968 the first of three serious accidents occurred when overloaded power cables caught fire. The fire was promptly extinguished but it took 12 days to repair the damage. On February 19 operation was resumed. The 45 control rods were pulled out of the reactor, starting the chain reaction, which produced the heat necessary to turn water to steam which drives the turbine power generator. Unfortunately grippers that held control rod F-10 out of the reactor had failed. Insertion of the control rod on February 19 did show up on the reactor instrument panel. But the San Onofre operators had found this particular warning system in error on previous occasions, so they simply ignored the warning. A double check using other instrumentation was not performed properly so the inserted rod remained undetected. Finally on March 9 a third check showed that control rod F-10 had fallen in and the reactor was shut down. It had taken 19 days to catch a critical hazard that should have been caught in minutes. The control rod could have been ejected from the reactor and caused serious, perhaps critical, damage.

The problem was fixed and reactor operation resumed March 10. At 12:21 AM, March 12, an electrical cable failure started a fire in a switchgear room. Thirteen minutes later plant shutdown was initiated. Two minutes later station personnel began fighting the fire with portable equipment. At 12:45 AM firemen arrived but the fire pumps wouldn't start so they relied on a backup system to extinguish the blaze. Then the automatic boron injection system designed to bring the reactor to a "cold" shutdown position failed; it took hours to put the boron in the reactor manually.

It took the San Onofre management six months to fix the fire damage to 185 electrical circuits, 18 control transformers, and cable trays, and smoke damage to the motor control center, switchgears, columns, gratings, walls and other components. No damage figure was ever released. Following the fires the AEC regulatory staff criticized the utility for inadequacy of preoperational testing, failure to make necessary safety analyses, inadequate operator training, slow response to the fire, deficiencies in instrumentation and failure to notice part of the boron injection system had been inoperable for 20 months.

After the plant resumed operation in September 1968, various leaks, breakdowns and outages continued to periodically force shutdowns. But Southern California Edison remained proud of its plant. It boasted about the facility in newspaper ads and reassured earthquake conscious Californians that, "The San Onofre plant . . . was constructed to withstand more severe shaking than from any quake ever recorded in Southern California. Besides the nuclear reactor can be shut down immediately in an emergency."

To those who pressed the point, company officials explained that no known earthquake fault ran near the plant. That sounded fine until February 9, 1971 when a previously inactive fault north of Los Angeles erupted, killing 64 and doing $1 billion in property damage. Although the earthquake was far enough away not to damage San Onofre, it hurt Southern California Edison two ways. First it scuttled their "no known active earthquake fault" argument because seismologists didn't even know this particular fault existed until it erupted. Second the heavily instrumented earthquake revealed ground accelerations reaching nearly 1G (the force of gravity). This was double the .5G earthquake resistance factor designed into the San Onofre plant. The utility wants to build two more San Onofre units at the .5G resistance factor but the AEC is holding out for .75G. So after sinking $17.3 million into design of the two new units, the utility has stopped all work until it can resolve seismic differences with the AEC.

Although the utility refused to buttress plant earthquake resistance,it is installing new monitoring equipment and increasing inspections in the face of a serious problem shared by other power companies around the nation: the loss of cooling water. Even when the reactor is shut down, it contains enough residual heat to melt down the fuel core within a minute after the loss of coolant. Heating up at a rate of 50 degrees a second, the reactor would soon melt itself down. A cloud of radioactive strontium, cesium, plutonium, iodine and ruthenium would escape, killing thousands in the surrounding area. Property damage due to contamination would be in the billions. Agricultural crops could be contaminated up to a distance of 150,000 square miles. To guard against such a catastrophe all plants are built with an emergency core cooling system in the event of a primary cooling failure.

It was a decade after the agency began licensing commercial reactors before actual tests of the emergency core cooling system began. Between November 1970 and March 1971 the agency ran six tests of the emergency cooling system on a laboratory-size reactor at its test facility in Idaho Falls, Idaho. When the emergency water was pumped into the reactor, it was blocked from reaching the core by the buildup of pressurized steam. Loss of primary coolant also increased the reactor temperature which swelled fuel rods and blocked flow of the emergency water. Although the testing program wouldn't be complete until 1974, the AEC regulatory staff was frightened. The most important reactor safety device seemed to be a dismal flop. Loss of primary coolant could spell disaster. In June the agency announced tighter design and inspection standards for all nuclear plants. One operating plant in Hartsville, South Carolina and three plants under construction near New York and Miami were told to reduce peak operating temperature. Operating plants at Dresden, Illinois; Rowe, Massachusetts; Indian Point, New York; Charlevoix, Michigan; and San Onofre were told to increase inspection of piping, pumps and valves of the cooling system.

But the Union of Concerned Scientists, a Boston-based coalition of several hundred technical experts, found the new standards grossly inadequate and called for an immediate halt in issuance of operating licenses for the new plants. "The consequences of an inadequate emergency cooling system would be of catastrophic proportions: an accident that could threaten the lives of tens or hundreds of thousands of persons and cause damage on a scale unknown in peacetime."

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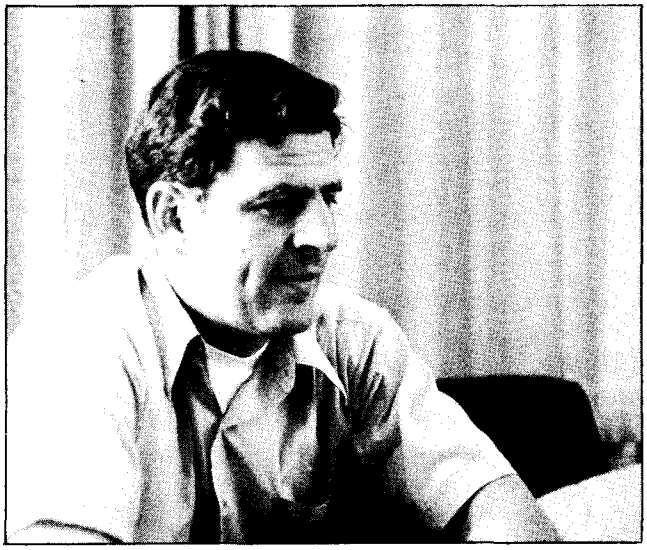

Robert J. Rowen, Jr.

SUCH ARE THE VAUNTED "SAFETY PRECAUTIONS" enjoyed by the Nixons and everyone else living near a nuclear plant. Fearful as they may seem, however, these facts are mild in comparison to the inside view of an atomic power facility. The men who run these reactors live in a world that turns upon incipient catastrophe. Usually their lips are sealed as a condition of their employment. But some have spoken out.

One of them is Robert J. Rowen, Jr., a 31-year-old veteran of Pacific Gas and Electric's Humboldt Bay nuclear plant at Eureka, California, 280 miles north of San Francisco. Rowen went to work for PG&E in 1962 after a brief career in semi-pro football and a four-year tour with the Marines. Rowen started as a laborer for PG&E and was transferred to Humboldt Bay in April 1964, about nine months after the plant had opened. He was immediately put to work in the hot (radioactive) areas of the plant as an apprentice instrument repairman. Rowen spent five months working in these hot areas wondering why plant supervision had never given him any instruction in routine radiation safety procedures.

Later, as Rowen began to be trained as a control technician, he began finding out the answer. His job involved radiological surveillance of the plant and its personnel as well as maintaining various reactor components, systems and instruments. He met Gail E. Allen, the plant's chief radiation protection engineer, who held a B.S. in air conditioning engineering. Allen's formal radiation protection training consisted of five weeks' worth of U.S. Public Health School courses.

About a year after Rowen went to work at Humboldt, serious problems began materializing in the reactor fuel core. The uranium reactor fuel had been compressed into pellets and loaded into thin rods called cladding. A few months after the Humboldt plant started up, General Electric, the reactor manufacturer, discovered in tests that stainless steel cladding was cracking during reactor operation. A new alloy called zircaloy was developed which proved to be a far safer cladding. But G.E., anxious to make nuclear reactor prices competitive, stuck with the stainless steel.

In June 1965 cracks in the stainless steel cladding at Humboldt released excess radiation into the reactor cooling water which eventually went out the plant stack. By September 1965 the plant was releasing 85,000 microcuries of radioactive vapor per second, compared with a 50,000 microcurie per second average annual release permitted by the AEC. In September the plant shut down for three months and replaced most of the leaking stainless steel cladding with zicronium.

When the plant resumed operation, radioactive gas emissions continued increasing. PG&E asked the AEC for a four-fold increase in the average annual emission rate for radioactive gases. When AEC declined the request in August 1966, PG&E was forced to continue operating the plant at no more than 40 percent of rated capacity. Further installation of zicronium cladding failed to solve the problem.

Rowen knew about this problem because one of his jobs was reading dosimeters (radiation monitoring devices) posted around the Eureka region. On a number of occasions monthly dosimeter checks showed emissions had been high enough to knock the device off the upper end of the scale. This meant that the top value of 10 millirems had to be used, even though the true value was higher. He suggested dosimeters be read more frequently, particularly at station number 14 which consistently showed the worst contamination. This unit was located at the South Bay elementary school across the street from the plant. Rowen says plant management ignored his requests. He suspects the company realized that more frequent checks would show higher emissions than the company wanted to see. This particular point was underscored in an August 19, 1966 letter from the AEC's Division of Reactor Licensing to PG&E, "It . . . appears that there may be places in the environment where the doses are higher than those measured." California's radiological health chief, Amasa Cornish, was also concerned. He was doing his own monitoring around the plant when he began to find out that PG&E "was not reading some of its dosimeters often enough to get true readings." He suggested frequency be stepped up and PG&E agreed.

But the plant management did not correct other problems bothering Rowen. For example, employees were required to pick up hot neutron sources and move them about when this exposure could have been averted by moving the sources by remote control behind lead shields. In the parking lot Rowen began making counts on his own pickup and found contamination 200 to 300 counts per minute (CPM) over residual background levels. Another sore spot was the rabbits routinely employed to eat grass around nuclear plants. The animals are periodically used to measure uptake of radionuclides from the facility. Instead of letting the rabbits forage on grass alone, PG&E management supplemented their diet with store-bought pellets. The company claimed it didn't want the animals to go hungry, but Rowen maintained it was simply done to water down results.

One day Rowen found out that a painting crew had been tromping around with contaminated clothes for three days. He insisted that the tracks of the painters for the past three days should be retraced. Their cars, homes, stores, etc., should be checked for possible contamination. Although this procedure is standard in incidents of this sort, PG&E refused to survey anything but the cars.

Photograph by Louise Kollenbaum

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Another day Rowen's monitoring of the bathroom turned up some hot toilets. An employee sitting in the stall would receive a dose of 5 millirem/per hr over background. Since the bathroom was in a cold area of the plant, Rowen went looking for the source of the radiation. He found it in a laboratory cabinet on the other side of the bathroom wall. Outside technicians from General Electric had stored samples of radioactive material in violation of company rules.

Finally Rowen became concerned enough to raise these matters at a regular plant safety meeting in December 1967. The meetings, which are required by the AEC, had always been devoted to non-nuclear hazards such as highway dangers or rattlesnake bites. When Rowen asked three questions about plant safety, his supervisors were aghast. Employees subsequently warned him against asking management embarrassing questions on nuclear safety at such meetings. In February 1968 he was called to the front office, rebuked and told to start showing a better attitude.

Rowen said he was considering telling the AEC about these breaches of safety precautions, "My boss told me that he wouldn't allow this on company time and added he would fire me if I talked to the agency on my own time."

By 1969 Rowen and some of his colleagues began having problems calibrating their monitoring instruments. A radioactive Cobalt 60 source used to calibrate the instruments had decayed to the point where it was only good for calibrating the lower half of the scale. There was no way to calibrate the upper half. After months of urging, PG&E finally bought a new, more potent, Cobalt 60 source.

Early in August 1969, the nuclear industry's spent fuel shipping cask arrived by train to take Humboldt's fuel off for reprocessing in West Valley, New York. This cask travels around the country, from plant to plant, picking up all the spent fuel elements. At Eureka the cask was lowered into the spent fuel pool where the elements were dumped inside. The cask was lifted out of the hot water, hosed off and then monitored to make sure it was within Department of Transportation radiation limits for shipment. A check showed cask contamination was far above federal limits. Middle areas of the cask showed 4000 to 6000 disintegrations per minute per 100 square centimeters or more than double the federal limit. At the seal, counts as high as 20,000 per minute were found. But Rowen's supervisor told him to monitor only areas of the cask where radiation was within federal limits. On August 6, 1969 the cask was cleared for shipment. Rowen, who had been promoted to journeyman control technician by now, asked power plant manager, Edgar Weeks, about the incident. Weeks claimed he had cleared the release with Department of Transportation officials in New York via phone. But in August 1971 the DOT said it had no record of any such conversation with Weeks.

IN MARCH 1970 NEW PROBLEMS DEVELOPED in the plant's low-level waste storage and disposal system. The waste, which is composed of contaminated rags, swipes, clothing, tools, instruments and other items, was packed into plastic bags, placed in cardboard boxes and stored outside on pallets, awaiting the arrival of a truck which would take it to a licensed disposal site. Rowen says, "The truck was late and during the waiting period a storm soaked some of the boxes and water got inside. Blunt instruments had cracked open some of the plastic bags so the water mixed with the contaminated material and then flowed out the bottom. When the truck arrived, we tried to pick up the soggy boxes but they just fell apart. We took out the waste and put it in new boxes but they got wet too. When we stacked the boxes into the truck, some of the wet ones were squashed and contaminated water ran out of the belly of the truck. We transferred everything again, cleaned up the truck and the drivers finally left. They were mad as hell."

Another problem is more heavily contaminated high-level waste, which is also placed in plastic bags. But instead of placing the bags in boxes, they are dumped into concrete vaults. The only difficulty is that blunt objects and stacking tends to break open some of the bags and hot particles get into the bottom of the vault. Rowen says, "When the vaults were opened to dump in new waste some of the particles would blow out. We found them periodically when monitoring guys out of plant. One hot particle on their shoe would be enough to put them over the safe release limit from the plant." Rowen was particularly concerned about these hot particles blowing over to the nearby South Bay elementary school. But when he asked plant management about it, Rowen was told the hot particles were actually Chinese nuclear test fallout.

In April the reactor was shut down for refueling. "Shut down" is something of a misnomer for when the reactor is turned off components are actually opened up for maintenance, inspection and service. Radiation levels rise considerably and PG&E employees throughout northern California suddenly find their "special skills" are needed at Humboldt Bay.

The reality is that AEC radiation exposure standards limit the amount of time the 80 Humboldt Bay employees can work in a hot area. Since they can only take 3 rems per quarter or 5 rems per year, regular employees simply can't do all the hot work that needs to be done. Hot exposure is rationed out among the regulars to avert "burning out" or reaching the quarterly or annual maximum which necessitates transferring to a cold area. This is a sizable problem at some nuclear facilities. For example, at the Nuclear Fuel Services reprocessing plant in West Valley, New York (where the spent fuel elements are reprocessed for reuse) there were so many burnouts that new employees had to be transferred in from a sister plant in Erwin, Tennessee to handle the hot jobs.

PG&E has a better system. It simply brings in electricians, painters, plumbers—whatever it needs—to handle some of these hot jobs on a temporary basis. Rowen says he's seen incidents "where guys have been put to work beneath the reactor for a special job and received most of their quarterly (three month) maximum in a couple hours. Of course the company only needs them for that one job, so it doesn't care. And the employee is told he's some kind of hot shot handling a special assignment."

During the April refueling outage one man brought in

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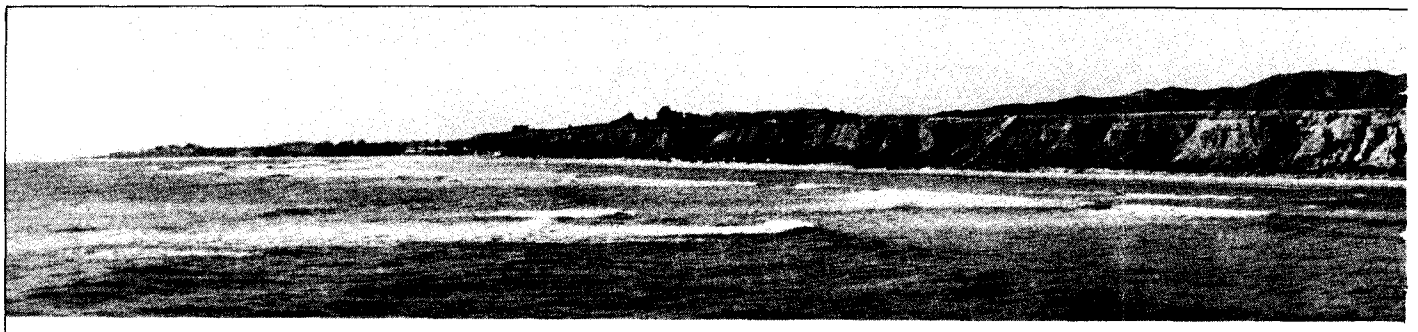

The Western White H is located about 4,40 this nuclear power pl

This is the San Onofre nuclear power plant in California. It was built and is being operated well within the strict regulations of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, just like every other nuclear power plant in the country. The one thing that distinguishes it from the others is its neighbors, President and Mrs. Nixon. Last summer our President joined thousands of Californians living near San Onofre.

The Nixons enjoy the same safety precautions as anyone else living near any nuclear power plant in this country.

What are those precautions?

1. Before the AEC will issue a construction permit for a nuclear power plant, its regulatory staff must approve the prospective location and plant design.

2. In addition, an independent group of scientific experts from outside the AEC, known as the Advisory Committee on Reactor Safeguards, must approve all plant sites and construction plans.

3. The application is then considered at a public hearing. This is conducted by a three-man board consisting of an attorney and two technical people who must be selected from a panel of experts outside the AEC. The board's decision is reviewed by an appeal board and/or the five commissioners of the AEC, headed by Chairman, Nobel Prize winner, Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg.

4. The same thorough safety reviews by the regulatory staff and the Advisory Committee, required for the construction permit, are repeated before an operating license can be granted.

5. Once construction and operating licenses are granted, the regulatory staff conducts continuing reviews of the operation (for the life of the plant) to make sure the licensee follows all AEC standards.

To whom does the Atomic Energy Commission report?

The Chairman of the AEC, Dr. Seaborg, reports directly to the President of the United States. He is one of five Commissioners, each of whom is appointed to five-year terms, subject to confirmation by the U.S. Senate.

In addition, this Com surveillance of the Joint Energy, a special commit of Congress. This congre the watchdog for all dev control of nuclear energ hearings regularly.

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A doctor from the W tion of Geneva, Switzer British radiobiology unit a prominent American u examples of the many re thinkers who make up th Commission of Radiolog the National Council on and Measurement. They findings and recommen available documents. Th Federal Radiation Coun U.S. government policie The AEC standards must

for work was a Redding electrician named Russ Dekruse. Just before entering the plant he happened to mention casually that he had skin cancer. Luckily he was stopped from going in. Dekruse says, "It's a good thing they caught me in time. I would have been working in the hot area for three weeks. That wouldn't have been a very good idea, would it?"

In May Rowen and his fellow technician Forrest Williams went livid when they found the hand and foot counter used to screen employees for radiation prior to leaving the plant had been set high. A check showed that the release limit was set at between 400 and 500 counts per minute, when the device should have been set at 300 counts per minute. At a safety meeting on May 20, 1970 Rowen charged plant management with deliberately setting the hand-foot counter high.

PG&E responded promptly with security chief Bert Jones, who flew up to interrogate Rowen and Williams. Rowen remembers, "He wanted to know why we were trying to demean management and instill unfounded fears in the minds of other employees." The employees explained their concern for safety, but Jones wasn't impressed.

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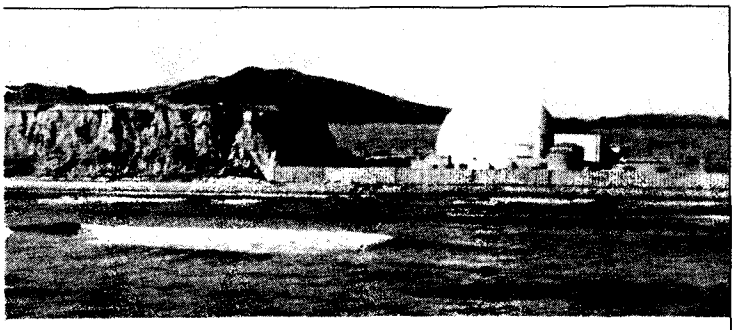

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The result of all this regulation and continual investigation is that nuclear power plants are probably the most carefully studied and rigidly supervised industry in this country. Perhaps the safest in the history of technology.

These assurances are important to all Americans, because it is estimated that by the year 2000, half of the electric power needed in the United States will be produced in nuclear plants.

Many of us will be living near nuclear power facilities (indeed many of us already live considerably closer than our President, and just as safely). All are assured, not only by law, but through the diligent efforts of the electric utility industry and the scientific community, that each additional nuclear plant will be built and operated under safety precautions as stringent as those applied to the one near the Nixons' California home.

The people at your Investor-Owned Electric Light and Power Companies.*

*For names of sponsoring companies, write to: Power Companies, 1345 Avenue of the Americas, New York, New York 10019

Mom's apple pie is radioactive.
So is Mom.
That doesn't make her a dangerous woman.
Radiation is just naturally everywhere. In the earth. In your homes. In your food. In your Mom.
And each accounts for more radiation than a nuclear power plant.
Take your Mom. Or yourself for that matter. The radioactive materials in our bodies give us an internal exposure of natural radiation averaging 25 millirems. (A millirem is 1/1000 of a rem, the standard unit of measurement of the biological effect of radiation.)
Buildings and the earth add another 55 millirems. Cosmic rays from space expose us to around 40 millirems. This varies—the higher the elevation you are at, the higher the exposure. All exposures considered, each American averages about 125 millirems of natural radiation annually.
Now, how about a nuclear power plant? Present operating experience tells us this: a person living anywhere in the vicinity of a typical nuclear power plant, 24 hours a day for a full year, would be exposed to less than 5 millirems of radiation from the plant.
Less than 5 millirems. Why, Mom could easily be exposed to that much during one round-trip coast-to-coast airline flight at 35,000 feet.
Those are the facts. And we think everyone should be aware of them. Because America's need for electricity is expected to double in the next ten years. To meet this need in an orderly fashion, clean, safe nuclear power must play an increasingly important role.
Our country's ability to do the work that needs to be done will depend on an adequate supply of electricity. There's no time to waste. New generating facilities must be built, and built in a way compatible with our environment.
We'll continue working to do this. But we need your understanding today to meet tomorrow's needs.
The people at your Investor-Owned Electric Light and Power Companies.*

Joseph Zagorski works 8 hours a day in a nuclear power plant.
He pays nothing extra for life insurance.
Of course the insurance companies know what they're doing. They know that each utility-operated nuclear power plant is subject to a very strict regulatory process which provides for continuing checks and double checks, inspections and reviews, from designing and construction, right through the lifetime of the plant.
Joseph works in a nuclear power plant operated by the Duquesne Light Company near Pittsburgh. He's been on the job since 1957. Neither he nor any employee of a utility-operated nuclear power plant in the United States has ever been injured by radiation. These plants are safe places to work, as they are safe places to produce electricity.
This record is very important. Because the orderly development of nuclear power is necessary to help meet our country's mounting demand for electricity.
Our country's ability to do the work that needs to be done will depend on an adequate supply of electricity. There's no time to waste. New generating facilities must be built, and built in a way compatible with our environment.
We'll continue working to do this. But we need your understanding today to meet tomorrow's needs.
The people at your Investor-Owned Electric Light and Power Companies.*

Acting on a rumor, Jones contacted Eureka police chief, Cedric Emahiser, and told him they had heard Rowen and Williams had threatened to blow up the plant. The PG&E officials mentioned Rowen's Marine carreer, adding that the former Pathfinder (a Green Beret-like unit) had demolition training. Emahiser agreed to go to work on a police report with the help of PG&E.

While the report was being compiled, PG&E found a neat way to get rid of Williams. At the time Williams had a cut finger and refused to do hot work until the wound was completely healed. PG&E fired him for insubordination on

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May 25. A couple of days later Rowen was fired for allegedly threatening to break a supervisor's arm off, a charge he denies. Subsequently the police investigation of Rowen and Williams was dropped. PG&E has refused to comment.

Rowen's fellow employees, who made him an honorary life member in their union, IBEW Local 1245, found conditions inside the plant largely unchanged after he left. Forced reactor shutdowns continued due to mechanical failures. Meanwhile the AEC's hundred-fold cut in radiation emission standards, effective in 1974, meant the plant would have to clean up. Radiation at the plant fence was 127.1 millirems over background or 25 times the new standard of 5 rems. And the AEC noted that "if the plant were operating at the full authorized power level, the release rate might exceed the current limit."

The AEC also looked into Rowen's charges during the spring and summer of 1971 after Rowen wrote the agency about life at Humboldt Bay. On October 28, 1971 the agency charged PG&E with violating two regulations and rebuked the firm in four additional areas. The violations involved inadequate survey of radiation exposure to employees and failure to furnish Rowen a report of his radiation exposure within 90 days of his firing. PG&E was also criticized for the potential of domestic water system contamination, inadequate work procedures and discouraging Rowen from talking with the AEC.

Rowen, who by this time is a graduate student in economics at Humboldt State, was disappointed by the AEC inspection. "They gave PG&E a wristslap. The inspector never even told me what he found on some of my charges. And they didn't look at any of the areas where the AEC was at fault, such as their own failure to make the required unannounced inspections. Obviously they aren't about to criticize themselves." A subsequent investigation by the Grand Jury bore out Rowen's view. The Grand Jury asked the AEC to step up monitoring and inspection at the plant.

Publically PG&E defended itself with lavish ads boasting that "radiation from a typical modern nuclear plant would be about 5 millirems per year or less" to a person living next door when neighbors of the Humboldt plant were getting 25 times that much. Privately the firm's supervising steam generation engineer was circulating internal memo's admitting, "We are indeed the 'dirtiest' nuclear plant in the country as seen from the vantage point of a fence post." Undaunted, PG&E was moving ahead to build two new reactors at Point Arena, 100 miles north of San Francisco. Each would be fifteen times the size of the Humboldt plant.

The remarkable thing about Humboldt is the fact that Robert Rowen was willing to talk about it. Accidents of the sort he describes are endemic to the nuclear industry. Leo Goodman, a Washington-based nuclear consultant to various unions over the past two decades, says, "You could walk into any plant and find stories like the ones Rowen tells. Or if you live near a nuclear plant, make this simple test. Contact the utility or the AEC and ask for the name of the library near the plant where copies of all public documents are routinely kept. Visit the library, read and weep."

Naturally the utility industry has a glib answer for all these problems. Perhaps you've seen it in some of their ads, "Not one person has suffered radiation injury in the 14 years of U.S. utility operating experience." But the utilities are counting only the men inside their own plants. What about the 145 Colorado Plateau uranium miners who have died of lung cancer picked up while digging out the ore for the plants? And what about the 500 to 1000 other miners that the federal government expects to die of lung cancer within the next 20 years? At the mills where the uranium is refined, spent tailings were given away as land-fill for construction. In roughly a dozen towns in Colorado and Utah these radium bearing tailings are emitting dangerous radon gas which seeps through the foundation into homes, schools, stores and churches. This is the same gas that caused the excess rate of lung cancer among uranium miners. In Colorado a check showed some houses had radon levels above the permissible level for uranium mine operation. One town, Grand Junction, Colorado has nearly 5000 structures built on tailings.

* * *

THE NUCLEAR INDUSTRY HAS RELIED HEAVILY on federal test reactors to develop the necessary expertise to run its own units. There have been sacrifices. On January 3, three technicians were killed while working on the agency's SL-reactor at Idaho Falls, Idaho. One victim died when a control rod shot out of the reactor and impaled him on the ceiling. It took six days to free the body.

Companies that do design and nuclear component work for the utilities have also had victims. For example, on July 24, 1964 Robert Peabody, an employee at United Nuclear Corporation, was given a five foot high plastic container full of radioactive material and told to mix it by rocking the vessel on his shoulder. Then he was to pour it into a container. Peabody, who had no special training in this area, was spattered with radioactive material and died two days later.

There are other tragedies that go on quite routinely taking a more general toll on people's health. General Electric, as previously noted, has had considerable problems with its fuel rod cladding. And accidents at the reactors seem to just keep on happening. On November 4, 1971 a fire did approximately $5 million damage at Consolidated Edison's Indian Point #2 reactor which was under construction at the time. On November 19 a lack of storage space at the Northern States Power Company's Monticello, Minnesota reactor forced the company to begin spilling radioactive water into the Mississippi river. By November 21 some 50,000 gallons had been dumped into the river. Some of it was sucked into the domestic water intake for the city of Minneapolis before the gates could be closed. The state pollution control agency was quite upset and one agency member, Steven Gadler, demanded that the nuclear plant be shut down so that the city's "metropolitan water supply may be spared from becoming filled with radioactive garbage." Another mishap occurred at a Dresden, Illinois reactor late in 1971 when spurious signals led to extensive damage.

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The nuclear fuel reprocessing plants were also having their problems. The Nuclear Fuel Services Facility at West Valley, New York has managed to contaminate workmen, deer and fish. Since September 1967 some 78 workmen have been overexposed while reprocessing the spent nuclear fuel for reactor use. Deer had gotten through holes in the plant fence and drunk contaminated water from a waste lagoon.

Even the final resting place of contaminated waste, the nuclear graveyards, have been having problems. At Hanford, Washington 11 of 149 nuclear waste storage tanks have sprung leaks between 1944 and 1970. About 50,000 gallons of radioactive waste poured from one tank. To handle the vast amount of nuclear garbage generated by the nuclear reactors, AEC officials had been touting a salt mine near Lyons, Kansas as foolproof and impermeable to water that could leach the hot wastes out of the mine into the water table. Then one day in 1971 the American Salt Company pumped 175,000 gallons of water into its salt bed adjacent to the Lyons site in a salt recovery operation. The water disappeared instead of rising to the surface as brine; the formation was not impermeable and the AEC packed up and started searching for another disposal site.

Look at any phase of the nuclear fuel cycle and you see failure. The uranium mines and mills, fuel fabrication plants, test reactors, nuclear plants themselves, reprocessing facilities, and waste disposal sites are all adding to radiation pollution. The AEC's outspoken scientist, Arthur Tamplin, likes to compare the nuclear power industry with the auto industry. In much the same way the automakers promised they could solve the nation's transportation problem, the nuclear power advocates now claim they can solve the nation's need for more energy. But the automakers have made the transportation problem worse by making the nation dependent on the car. Tamplin says "55,000 traffic fatalities per year is the kind of risk the people of the United States are willing to accept for the benefits of the family car."

The AEC and the utilities are trying to make the nation similarly dependent on nuclear power. The covert assumption is that by the time scientists catch up with the problem, the utilities will have hooked the nation on nuclear power. Any attempt to shut the plants down will be treated as an effort to turn off the lights. The strategy is relatively simple. First the utilities want to make the nation dependent on the light-water reactors. Then, when the fuel starts running out, they will push the country into the far more dangerous breeder. The AEC's John Gofman points out that the AEC's recent 100-fold slash in allowable radiation exposure does not apply to the breeder plants. And an Ohio State nuclear engineer named Richard Webb has just completed an exhaustive study that shows the AEC has drastically underestimated the explosive potential of the breeder. His study of the Enrico Fermi reactor shows the plant has an explosive capability more than seven times the design limit of the reactor.

These sort of hazards don't bother the utility industry because they are immunized against the consequences. They operate on the philosophy of "benefits versus risks." The utilities take the benefits in terms of extra profits and the public takes the risks in terms of extra cancers. The power firms love nuclear energy because it is a fast way of sinking billions into new plants. Remember, their rate of return is based on invested capital. Each plant adds to profits which are already the highest in American industry. Last year the 100 top utilities made 15 cents on the dollar.

If you talk to people who have fought the nuclear power industry, you quickly realize, like Robert Rowen, that it's almost impossible to win. The industry plays with a stacked deck. Bill and Ann Carl, who have led a fight against the proposed Long Island Lighting Company reactor at Shoreham, New York, find the struggle is a full-time job, "The AEC has unlimited resources in its hearings. We have to fight them with what we can scrape up." The Carls and their friends, as it turns out, have managed to stave off the reactor. But how many Americans can rent their own xerox machine, hire lawyers, turn their homes into technical repositories, take time off from their jobs, take money out of their own bank accounts, bring in consultants, and fight for years against plant after plant. Ultimately the utilities always win.

It seems as if there is only one way to halt the nuclear juggernaut at this late date. The idea comes from Senator Mike Gravel (D-Alaska): repeal the Price-Anderson Act which exempts utilities from liability over $560 million for accidents, even though an AEC study admits that an accident could cause as much as $7 billion damage. The picture would change rapidly if the utilities were suddenly liable for their own nuclear plants. Let them go out and try to convince insurance companies to cover their plants for $7 billion. New economic realities would doubtless stop nuclear plant construction and operation. Power conservation would become a reality in America (no more "all electric" homes that use up to six times as much electricity as normal homes), future energy research would be shifted into safer, non-nuclear areas, and Richard Nixon could retire with confidence to his sober deliberations at San Clemente.

Otherwise? Well no one knows for sure. In the nuclear reactor business anything can happen. Consider the morning in December 1969 when Jerald P. Beck, supervisor of the Triga reactor at the University of Illinois, took a few minutes to go to the toilet. When he flushed it, the main water pressure dropped due to a faulty water meter which actuated a pressure switch stopping the secondary pump. The loss of flow in the secondary system stopped the primary pump. Finally the loss of flow in the primary cooling system resulted in the control rods dropping in and the reactor shutting down. Until a new water meter could be installed, the meter was bypassed so that the toilet could be safely flushed without fear of producing another shutdown. Otherwise, Jerald P. Beck could have earned a place in scientific history as the first man to set off a nuclear accident by flushing the toilet.

Roger Rapoport is the author of The Great American Bomb Machine *(E. P. Dutton), a study of the nation's nuclear weapons program.*

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[Culture/Counter Culture]

Left-Winging to Chile

The following is a report of RAMPARTS' *Tour to Chile in December. A second trip is scheduled for mid-March.*

by Robert Kaldenbach

"We must struggle against male chauvinism wherever we find it," intoned our tour's self-appointed conscience keeper. I trembled, fearing our first political confrontation. The irony of the situation was obvious to everyone: here we were, 25 comfortable American tourists, all po-

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litically left, lounging about the sunny beach at Viña del Mar, about to debate the sexism of an edict we had just received: women were not to be allowed down in the copper mine the next day. Chilean miners, like miners elsewhere, hold to a superstition that women are bad luck in the mines and cause accidents, therefore are banned from entering.

The women first divided themselves off into a women's caucus to debate this question. Reaching no agreement among themselves, they then met with the males and after some reasoned argument and a little shouting, concensus formed; the miners were to be indulged in their superstition. Americans should not commit cultural imperialism by lecturing to our hosts. An "incident" had been averted, an issue resolved.

Santiago was just now in an excited state, with leftist opponents of the government fuming over the slow pace of the march toward socialism, and the right to center opposition lamenting the death of private initiative and personal freedoms. A week before we arrived in Santiago, angry middle-class women, provoked by the right, had taken to the streets, beating their maids' pots and pans protesting food shortages and Fidel. Castro had just returned to Havana after an extraordinary five-week visit which had carried him before tens of thousands of workers and students. From what little we could learn, there was a meat shortage, but the cause was not less meat than before, but rather more people now able to buy it. Minimum wages had been raised while food prices were frozen, allowing poorer Chileans to improve their diets and compete with the better-off for the inadequate meat supply.

Museums and art galleries took second place in our itinerary, which we had laced with items of political significance, including a visit to the nationalized El Teniente Mine, up 10,000 feet into the Andes. Teniente is named for the army lieutenant who discovered the copper vein as he was going over-the-hill, a deserter who became a national hero. Last year, the mine was taken over from Kennecott, with top American managers transferred to the nether reaches of Utah, taking some Chilean technicians and supervisors with them. The mine is located at Sewell, a miserable little company town. Years of dumping tailings from the mine and extremes of climate which not even socialism can alter doom Sewell to remain what it is, barren, stark, windswept and silent. Fortunately for the miners, the town is being phased out and the miners relocated far downhill at Rancagua, a pleasant little farming town. But life is harsh—miners die on the average at age 45, few living to collect the pension to which 35 years of work entitles them. Mine accidents are rare, but silicosis attacks the lungs, particularly of the smelter and crusher operators.

Contrary to U.S. press reports, miners and officials alike told us that production has not fallen since nationalization, that absenteeism has not risen, and that the departure of the technicians to the U.S. is causing no major problem. Chile remains dangerously dependent on copper exports for foreign exchange earnings, and therefore vulnerable to a falling price of copper ore in the world market. One mine official explained that a 1¢ drop in copper ore prices costs Chile $10 million a year in foreign exchange. Still, Fidel has pointed out that a mere 30,000 Chilean miners were earning for Chile as much foreign exchange as several million Cubans were able to earn from the cane fields of Cuba.

BETTER THAN ANYTHING ELSE WE saw, "Ché Guevara Poblacion" symbolizes what Chile is today, and what it might become. Eight hundred families live in rude wooden houses on several hundred acres of prime land in the capital. On one corner of the plot the former *patrón's* villa crumbles. He has gone now and so has his title to the land, forfeited to the government under an old law which permits the state to reclaim estates which are not kept under constant cultivation. Over the past few years urban squatters had moved onto the land. Then, just before Allende's election, the people were organized into a collective by the ELN, Chile's wing of Bolivia's national liberation army—the army of Ché Guevara. Living conditions were squalid and crowded, without sanitation, beyond the pale of police protection. Since Allende's election, water, electricity and sewers have been installed, and overnight a massive public housing construction project was conceived, architected and rushed into construction.

The countryside around Santiago resembles northern California: green hills and valleys, temperate climate. A hundred miles north of the capital, our bus turned into a small collective farm, twenty families on two hundred acres. Wheat and beans, the cash crops, are tilled on the common land, ninety percent of the total acreage, the other ten percent being one acre plots assigned to each family. Men work the fields, women spin and weave, children go to the local school by bus. The houses are rude but well kept, surrounded by gardens, chickens and pigs, and several tractors. Work is assigned collectively, on an as-required basis, no quotas, no time cards, no work brigades, no administrators.

Land reform in the countryside had been underway for several years throughout Chile, and by now every political party, right to left, supports some variety of land redistribution. The collective that we visited is an example of one of the less radical forms in use today, in that individuals control and till their private plots and have no shared social institutions—only the work is collectivized. Another style of land reform in use is open-ended collectives which aim at becoming diversified communities including food processing plants, commercial centers, even factories, all owned collectively and democratically managed. Such full-blown *centros* exist only in plans as yet, and to bring them into existence will require capital to acquire equipment and buildings and to compensate the land owners (both *latifundistas* and smaller farmers would be moved out to consolidate enough land for a *centro*).

Technical and marketing assistance as well as financing and accounting help are provided to the collective farm by the government. Following a few years of accounting chaos which threatened to destroy incentives (no one knew how the farm was doing, and rumors of shady dealing were

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bubbling), the new government stepped in and enforced standardized information collection, and directed the state banks to do the bookkeeping. One vacationing agricultural engineer whom we met by accident was optimistic about these management reforms, and, while he was not an Allende supporter, felt that conditions in the countryside were improving rapidly. With the three bi-linguals in our touring group, we were able to

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talk to many such "ordinary" people under informal circumstances, thereby achieving the dream of every tour, political or not: unfiltered information coming out of spontaneous contact with "real people."

THE TEXTIL PROGRESO FACTORY, nationalized last year, was clean and orderly. "Welcome Fidel" posters now cover its workshop walls, and Lenin stares severely down from the manager's wall. Forty percent of the workers are women, and the plant operates a child care center, providing free care for infants. The manager of the whole place (it's a big factory, with 800 workers on three shifts) is a former unemployed production line worker who converses impressively on Marxist-Leninist theory and practice. Unions, formerly organized along narrow craft lines, have been consolidated into one industrial unit representing every worker in the plant. Voluntary weekend work is fairly widespread (the profits from such work are paid to the employees association, to be used for collective projects). Output is reportedly up and unemployment is down, as is overtime, there being a conscious effort to spread the available work. When we were done with our questions to the Chileans, we took our turn answering theirs: What about the students and black revolutionaries in the U.S.? What are Americans told about Chile? Will the CIA/FBI punish us for visiting them? Why are American kids smoking so much dope?

Many of the stereotypes about Latin America that we had carried with us to Chile were thoroughly dissolved. Where Mexico in contrast seems rough, and cringing under the whip of the yankee dollar, Chile appears refined, calm, gentle, and oblivious to the northern colossus. Santiago too is noisy, crowded and unkempt, seemingly no more liveable than the worlds' other metropolises. But the people wear well, even in this setting, where there is a pace and style that citified Americans cannot help but notice and envy. There are no English language newspapers, guidebooks or maps; virtually no one speaks English and there are no English signs even in the touristy businesses. True, the copper industry was built by the Americans, but the mines were consigned to remote locations, and they never hired more than a handful of Americans. These were top-management types, hidden behind country club walls, cozy with the embassy set. Upon learning that we were Americans, the Chilean man-in-the-street seemed not terribly interested, no one suggested that we go home, no one tried to sell us junk.

If Chile seems to the superficial tourist eye to have escaped colonialism's more pernicious effects, thoughtful Chileans perceive the problem differently. We met with media people and artists who were united on the need to build a "new man" in Chile, to create a distinctively Chilean cultural identity. They explained that the mass media, particularly the press and television, remained in the hands of the rich, and operated to debase traditional values. TV is heavily dosed with dubbed-in High Chaparral and old American movies, and there seem to be no Chilean hero figures for the kids, not even cartoons.

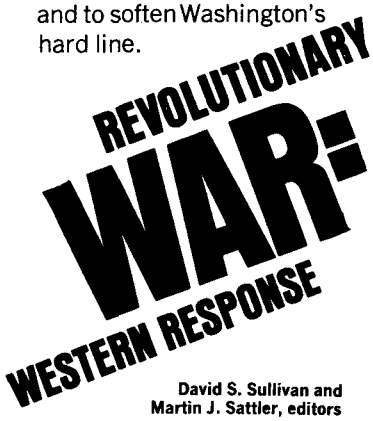
Quimantu, the new nationalized publishing house, produces cheap paperback editions of classics and some very subtly politicized comic books for the children and semi-literate adult populations. Prior to nationalization, books reached only 20 percent of the population and press runs were set around 7000. Today the press runs are up to 30,000–50,000 and the fare has been redirected to reach a wider, less literate readership.

If Santiago is a cauldron of re-evaluation and occasional anxiety, Viña del Mar is something else again. It is Santiago's playground, 100 miles west on the Pacific; the place where well-to-do Santiagans go for relief from the cares the Allende revolution has thrust upon them. This city of 100,000 contains several of the more striking contradictions in Chile today. After the usual three-hour hotel dinner, we bussed over to the municipal gambling casino. Filing out of the hotel, we passed by an arriving party that stopped us in our tracks: a hundred military cadets, in full dress uniforms, escorting a hundred debutantes in floor length formals, all with red satin

What should the U.S. do about Third-World revolutions?

Revolutionary war is an increasingly significant phenomenon in the Third World, and there is some evidence that conventional, counter-revolutionary intervention is built into the American political system. A new book by five internationally recognized authorities on revolution (one of them, in fact, under indictment in an alleged plot to kidnap Henry Kissinger) examines this ominous problem.

REVOLUTIONARY WAR: WESTERN RESPONSE analyzes the revolutionary political climate of the third world and the entrenched official attitudes of Washington that make more Vietnams likely. It then suggests what can be done both to alleviate the root causes of revolution and to soften Washington's hard line.



David S. Sullivan and Martin J. Sattler, editors
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shoulder capes. I'll bet Fidel missed that scene. The shock was reinforced when we reached the casino. Tuxedoed guards, chandeliers, chauffeured Mercedes. Three of us were denied entrance for lack of a coat and tie. Two days of this—though the beaches and sun were certainly pleasant—was plenty for our group. Reflecting on the contradictions as we rode back to Santiago, we figured it out: leisure class gambling is bourgeois decadence, but every casino is owned by the government and every dollar that goes into the vault via the roulette table is a dollar in foreign exchange, indistinguishable from dollars earned from copper. And no Chilean gets sweated to earn it; croupiers seldom suffer from silicosis of the lung.

FLYING SOUTH IN CHILE is an eerie sensation, something like viewing a split-screen movie with the Andes rising on your left, the Pacific always in view on the right, and directly below a thin strip of land running forever south. As the fiord district is approached at Puerto Montt, the land takes on a green hue so intense that it seems to be one of those 1940s travelogues shot through a heavy filter. Active snow-covered volcanoes tower over the greenery. It rains eleven months a year, water is everywhere, rain forests grow at weed speed. And it is astoundingly clean, something older Americans haven't seen since childhood, and younger Americans will probably never see in this country.

Around Puerto Montt are a galaxy of lakes, all the size of Lake Tahoe or larger. Only a rudimentary tourist industry has developed; a hotel here or there, some campgrounds and rarely a tourist restaurant. Around the lakeshores are spotted bucolic farms on the hillsides and every few miles a decaying villa at water's edge. Motor launches carrying sightseers cross Lake Todos los Santos daily, the ship's horn blowing every so often to tell the shore dwellers that it's mail call. Beside the lake is an incredible waterfall, so spectacular that if it were situated in the U.S., Hilton, McDonald's, Texaco and Howard Johnson would have optioned all the surrounding land years ago. As it is, there is only a free campground, no stores, no turnstiles, not even a paved parking lot.

So it turned out to be a week's worth of politics and a second week in the sunny scenery.

Leaving Guayaquil, Ecuador, the last stop on the return flight to Miami, everyone nestled down with a bottle of Chilean wine. A half hour before Miami, whispers began drifting through the cabin, and suddenly everyone was on his feet, crushing one another to gain a place next to the starboard windows: we were passing over Cuba! The plane seemed to list to the right with the shift of human load, and the passengers went silent, as Cuba was sighted below. We wondered if future tourists would sight Chile with such awe.

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Records

THE CONCERT FOR BANGLA DESH *[Apple]*

IN THE SEVENTH ISSUE of *All-Star Comics* (Summer of '42) that colorful aggregation of superheroes, the Justice Society of America, undertook to raise "$1,000,000 for War Orphans," an adventure in which glamorously accoutered *ubermenschen* turned from their usual lurid occupations to try to relieve some of the misery of the innocent victims of war.

Twenty-nine years later there was a show of similarly stellar cast and purpose, an *All-Star Comics* nearly as real as the printed one, at Madison Square Garden. Somehow the congruence of the modern superheroes with the classic presses itself upon the consciousness to the point of one's elaborately casting performers in roles, the way George Reeves became Superman; Tom Tyler, Captain Marvel; Adam West, Batman.

Somehow in this modern Justice Society George Harrison became the Green Lantern; Eric Clapton, the Flash; Bob Dylan, Dr. Fate; Billy Preston, Dr. Mid-Nite; Leon Russell, Wildcat; Ringo Starr, the haplessly triumphant Johnny Thunder; Klaus Voormann, the Spectre; Ravi Shankar, the Sandman.

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Even the supporting cast at Madison Square Garden finds identity with the secondary members of the Justice Society: Jim Horn as Starman, Jeanie Greene as Wonder Woman, Claudia Linnear as the Black Canary, and the four members of Badfinger as those latter-day arrivals, the Teen Titans.

The concert itself—all those superheroes flew free of course—raised a little under a quarter million dollars for the refugees of the unsuccessful (March) Bangla Desh rebellion. Where the big money will come is from the record album, released coincidentally during the successful (December) Bangla Desh war of independence. And biggest of all, from the film to follow.

Actually the adventures of the old Justice Society were seldom as coherent as the separate exploits of the various heroes: the very literary logistics of shepherding that many principals on and off stage, giving each sufficient time and space to perform, usually got in the way of any sort of rational plot. What made *All-Star Comics* great was the sheer color and *excitement* of that many superheroes appearing together, within one set of covers, and not merely in separate stories but in one story, face to face and shoulder to shoulder against the common enemy.

Ringo Starr playing tambourine for Bob Dylan?

The concert opened with a set of Indian music; the audience was so knowledgeable that it couldn't tell tuning from playing. That's all right. Ravi Shankar tells them that, since they enjoyed the tuning so much, they should enjoy the music itself even more. There's only one piece on the album, from this set: neither as long nor as structured as much sitar-sarod music, it's basically variations on a traditional Indian tune, flowing, relaxed, easily understood, the perfect choice for the occasion and a pleasure to listen to on record.

The best portion of the album, though, is Harrison's own. Some Beatles-era songs, but more from Harrison's *All Things Must Pass* album, the latter a fine work but limited (not exactly *flawed*) by the cool, almost sterile perfection of the studio set. In the Bangla Desh concert album, Harrison is clearly turned on by the live environment, the excitement of the stage, the rapport of a living and enthusiastic audience.

His singing on "Wah-Wah," "My Sweet Lord," "Something," is so filled with vitality that you can hardly keep from jumping out of your chair, dancing, moving around the room, swaying, twitching Joe Cocker fashion, doing anything to participate in the fantastic energy flow.

And Ringo . . . of *course* he forgot the words to "It Don't Come Easy." Beautiful, the compulsory flaw lest Allah be offended by man's presumption in attaining perfection.

Which brings up Billy Preston's "That's the Way God Planned it." Somehow the whole evening's performance carries a slight aura of the religious service—the religious-like overtones of the rock music phenomenon being only one of the many odd aspects—and it is not for one to question the *private* religious convictions of Billy Preston or anyone else. But it seems more than slightly presumptuous for a musician to tell an audience of 17,000 people (plus millions who will hear the record or the film soundtrack) that "That's the way God planned it, that's the way God wants it to be." That's really laying a lot of heavy message down, of a sort which a musician is *per se* hardly qualified to lay down, and in circumstances offering no opportunity for discussion. Well. . . .

Leon Russell is a hugely talented musician with an ego to match; every time out the two engage in a contest to see which will emerge triumphant. In this album, Russell does a fine job singing and playing a variety of instruments, including bass for Dylan. The only time that the ego-flow exceeds the musicianship is on Russell's version of "Jumpin' Jack Flash," where his regard for his own talent exceeds his respect for Jagger and Richard's material.

Enough. Too much praise cannot be given to Dylan, who made one of his desperately rare appearances and had a *very* fine night, to Eric Clapton, to all of the supporting musicians and singers.

Sound on the album is excellent—one of the finest of live performances, captured by 44 microphones as we are told at every opportunity. The album was produced by Harrison and Phil Spector, the latter immensely competent save for a seldom-resisted urge to meddle, e.g., the lily-gilding violins that almost wreck John Lennon's otherwise masterful *Imagine* album.

Fortunately, George Harrison did not turn over the *Bangla Desh* tapes to Spector and go home; he remained in the booth, working with Spector to the end. So: no added tracks, no fancy tricks, but a marvelously realized reproduction of the concert.

And that is how it will be known for a long time: *The Concert. The Album.* And, in time, *The Film.*

It's an expensive package, but there's no shuck involved. The three disks run almost 90 minutes, and the 64-page photo book included contains some of the finest on-stage photography to date.

I think *The Concert for Bangla Desh* is probably the best single picture-and-sound edition of *All-Star Comics* ever published. And it's certain to raise that "$1,000,000 for War Orphans." According to Dr. Alexander Lipski and Suzenna Martin, in a brief introduction to the photo book, a million dollars might provide one day's care for the refugees of the March rebellion.

* * *

RECENT AND NOTEWORTHY:

HOT ROCKS 1964-1971, The Rolling Stones *[London]*. One of the finest "best of" records *ever*, including tracks not included on earlier albums and unfamiliar versions of familiar songs.

PAPA JOHN CREACH, *[Grunt]*. The world's unlikeliest rock star: 50-year-old violinist playing "Danny Boy" with organ accompanist; combination of blues, pop-camp, jazz, makes for an outstanding offbeat album.

SUNFIGHTER, Paul Kantner &

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Grace Slick [*Grunt*]. Another science fiction novel in music, not as sloppy as the earlier *Blows Against the Empire* though still heavy and harsh.

ASYLUM CHOIR II, Leon Russell & Marc Benno [*Shelter*]. Ten excellent tracks cut in 1969 but never before released; some of the best work of either musician including Russell's own version of "Hello, Little Friend," since claimed by Joe Cocker.

WILD LIFE, Wings [*Apple*]. Paul McCartney's third post-Beatles album, laid back and more listenable than the execrable *Ram* but still showing little of the creativity of his work with Lennon.

ANTICIPATION, Carly Simon [*Elektra*]. Co-champion with Carole King of the new women composer-singers, Carly Simon follows her excellent debut album with one equally fine, less tinctured with the melancholy of its predecessor.

SHANTI [*Atlantic*]. One of the more successful amalgams of Indian music with rock; several short rock-dominated tracks are rather ordinary but two long sarod tracks by Ashish Khan are almost hypnotic.

—DICK LUPOFF

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CHINA *(Continued from page 8)*

litical discrediting of Lin and his comrades as anti-Mao assassins—if the reports of this campaign are accurate—would represent a major triumph for the reigning party group.

In all these events, so portentous for the historical development of the next years and even decades, the United States and Russia have been primary, if unseen and indirect, movers. For decades the U.S. sought to perpetuate China's weakness and increase the internal tensions hindering her development. When the *détente* with Russia was achieved in 1963, Washington deliberately excluded China from the general relaxation of tensions and mounted a new cold war in Asia with China as the target. This dual approach to the communist powers was the major factor in causing the Sino-Soviet split, which is so central to the problems of both China and Russia, and peace in Asia today. The Russians of course had the clear choice at the time of refusing the *détente* offer. They could have done this—if not on the principled grounds of not betraying an ally—on the purely pragmatic grounds that no *détente* which excluded China could long be stable. Nearly ten years later, it can be seen what was accomplished in 1963 was a mere sowing of an international wind of schism and discontent. The reaping is still to come.

—DAVID HOROWITZ

Letters

Editors:

When Spiro Agnew visited his father's home village of Gargalianoi in Greece, he said. "I am moved to be able to come home." In the next breath, he offered warm praise for the "achievements that are going forward under the present Greek government."

The biggest achievement, obviously, is a tightly controlled totalitarian state, the most ugly the Greeks have ever experienced, which hops to the wishes and desires of the U. S. Pentagon and industrial establishment. This state has made it impossible for hundreds of thousands of Greeks to "come home," either from their exile outside of

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Greece, or from the cement walls of a junta prison.

The PANHELLENIC LIBERATION MOVEMENT is an organization dedicated to the overthrow of this regime and to building, thereafter, a nationally independent, socialist and democratic Greece; a Greece that will belong not to the Pentagon and to foreign capital, but to the Greeks. We have a massive popular base in Greece which must be kept informed. For this we need a radio system. We have the technical means in hand, but lack the funds for operational costs.

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Note: Contrary to the impression left in "Ross Perot: America's First Welfare Billionaire," (*Ramparts*, November 1971), Mr. Don Muchmore was not a member of the Blue Shield Board of Directors when the Blue Shield-EDS contract was signed. ■

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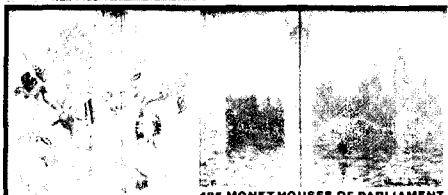

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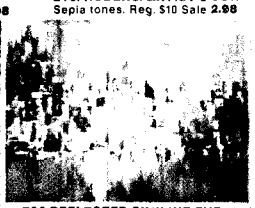

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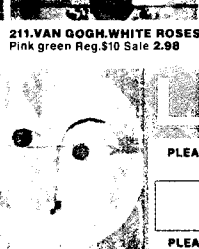

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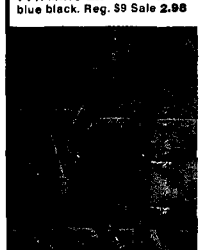

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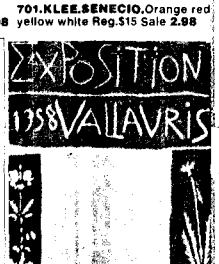

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